Chapter 6: Resounding Change

- The paramilitary framework established by white Democratic leaders before the election ran the city in the days immediately following the violence and coup.

- Transfer of control over city affairs from the Fusion administration to the Democrats began on November 10. New municipal officers had instruction from Democratic Party leadership regarding military affairs, banishment, and political patronage.

- Leading African Americans and white Republicans were banished from the city starting on the afternoon of the tenth. Some men were arrested, jailed, and sent out of town the next morning. Others were picked up and escorted to the train station on the eleventh.

- Besides the primary target of Alex Manly, the men selected for banishment fit into one of three categories: African American leaders who were open opponents to white supremacy, successful African American businessmen, and white Republicans or Populists who benefited from African American voting support.

- Other banishment targets were pressed into leaving town for their own safety by groups of whites considered to be rogues in the minds of leaders. Families continued to leave the city voluntarily over the following days and weeks.

- Tallies of the dead began almost immediately with many of the victims named in the newspapers. Other dead went unidentified, and some died after the initial violence on the tenth in random skirmishes or from severe wounds. The day after the riot, men found wounded in Wilmington and its outskirts were taken to the hospital.

- No official count of dead can be ascertained due to a paucity of records from the coroner's office, hospital, and churches.

- White Fusionists throughout the state were affected by the riot and violence. U. S. senator Marion Butler and Governor Daniel Russell experienced personal threats.

- Alfred Moore Waddell and the new board of Aldermen met almost daily to secure the coup and ensure the changeover from a Fusionist, biracial government to one composed of all whites. Waddell's administration sought to end the sporadic shootings and non-sanctioned banishments as well as to return the city to normal, peaceful, operations as quickly as possible.

- One of the changes wrought by the Democrats was the firing of all black municipal employees. Among the first replaced were the policemen and firemen. Two of the fire stations had been all black and were sources of pride for their neighborhoods. Those men were fired and replaced by whites and one firehouse was permanently closed, reducing the effectiveness of fire department response in majority black neighborhoods.

- White Democrats held celebratory parades and gatherings in Wilmington and Raleigh following the election and violence. White ministers on the Sunday following the violence voiced support for the coup and congratulated the leaders.

Chapter 6: Resounding Change

"In this manner wanes the slow night amid threat, uncertainty and bloodshed. On every block the steady trump of guards is heard. As the yellow lamplight pales in the gray morning, the negroes failed to re-appear on the streets." Raleigh News and Observer, 11/13/1898

As night fell on November 10, thousands of men, women and children in Wilmington knew their lives had been forever changed by the Democrats in their quest for victory in the election of 1898. The violence that erupted as a result of Democratic Party machinations fractured the relatively peaceful and progressive city of Wilmington. Many in the city's African American community feared for their lives. Bipartisan politics was dead, and the city soon returned to post-Reconstruction status quo, with wealthy Democrats running county and municipal government. As the end of November approached with the Thanksgiving holiday, families in Wilmington either rejoiced or recuperated.[1] A hostile environment, unfriendly to non-Democrats of either race, persisted. African Americans fared much worse than their white Fusion counterparts. They faced the coming winter with little prospect of improvement, reductions in pay and job availability, and increased blatant racism on a daily basis.

In the immediate aftermath of the violence of November 10, the paramilitary system of action and communication established by Roger Moore, Walker Taylor, and other leaders held sway. Plans for establishing headquarters, safe houses for family members, access to wagons and trains, among other details, had been worked out and thoroughly understood well before the election. Once the violence was initiated on the tenth, the plan fell smoothly into place from the riot alarm being sounded at the first shots, to the guard details on every block that "interviewed" all blacks who tried to pass, and to the transfer of control over the city to military forces.[2] As a result of the governor's call for service, guard units from Maxton, Clinton, and Kinston arrived throughout the late evening and into the night with Taylor assigning the units to guard duty or patrol in various parts of the city. Colonel Taylor, given charge of the city by the governor and state adjutant general, instituted martial law around 2:30 in the afternoon and demanded that all blacks be off the streets before nightfall. Taylor's second in command, Colonel George Morton of the Naval Reserves, was ordered to enforce the curfew. He made his home at 720 North Fourth Street, his base of operations. As many as 400 special policemen were deputized to assist the military units in place in the city.[3] The day

[1] For example, John S. Cunningham of Person County invited Waddell's kinswoman, Rebecca Cameron, and her husband to Thanksgiving dinner at his home so that they could "thank our Father, who has blessed us individually in so many ways, we can thank him for the great victory on the 8th day of November." Another letter to Benehan Cameron, from Thomas Strange of Wilmington, thanked Cameron for his telegram offering assistance during the riot. Strange closed with a note for Cameron to pay the telegram fee because he needed to save every cent. John S. Cunningham to Col. and Mrs. Benehan Cameron, November 11, 1898 and Thomas Strange to Ben, November 16, 1898, Benehan Cameron Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[2] Patrols established in advance of the riot took on a new responsibility as all blacks passing through the city were met on every corner by a checkpoint that would "hold up and search all negroes going and coming from work." J. F. Maunder recalled that he searched about 25 blacks and found nothing of consequence. "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.

[3] For information on Moore's activities and the network of guards and patrols, see previous chapters. About 60 Maxton Guards arrived around 11:00 P.M., 40 Clinton Guards arrived a half hour later, and 30 men with the Kinston Naval Reserves arrived at 2:30

after the riot, rumors ran rampant that trouble was brewing at other townships in the county where blacks were attempting to extract revenge. As a result, armed patrols kept up their vigils, assisted by the influx of State Guard troops. On the evening of the eleventh, new mayor Alfred Moore Waddell personally met with armed citizens in the streets and encouraged them to go home. Waddell then had a picket line established by the military along the city's northern perimeter. The next day, November 12, out-of-town military units were withdrawn, leaving the city under full control of municipal leaders backed by the local troops of the Wilmington Light Infantry, who discontinued service on the fourteenth. [4]

The transfer of control of the city's affairs to the hands of the new mayor and Board of Alderman effectively took place on the afternoon of the tenth, but it was clear that the men who drove the Democratic campaign and coup d'etat still directed activity in the city. An article in the *Messenger* five days after the riot claimed "it was all planned in advance," and the "citizens committee is all-powerful still, and while outwardly it is taking little part in affairs, in reality it is standing squarely behind Mayor Waddell and will continue to do so." The writer even hinted that the violence attributed to the Red Shirts and Rough Riders was part of the larger plan—"As long as they were sober the 'rough riders' could be controlled easily enough, but had they had access to an unlimited amount of liquor there would have been many more bodies for the coroner's jury." The article related that the reporter had been told in confidence by Democratic Party leaders that "they never intended to resort to force save as a last expedient." The men confided in the reporter that violence during the voting process would have "given the negroes strong grounds upon which to have contested Bellamy's election." The article concluded that the machinations of the white leaders sounded very "cold-blooded" but that their plans were "grounded in mighty good horse sense" given the state of affairs in the city.[5]

Banishment Campaign

The banishment campaign started on the afternoon of the riot as African American and white leaders were arrested according to the dictates of the Secret Nine. The men selected for banishment fell into several different categories. First, were the African American leaders who were vocal supporters of full participation in government by blacks and open opponents of the white supremacy campaign. Second were African American businessmen and entrepreneurs whose financial successes were galling to the white upper and working classes. Third were white Republicans who benefited from African American voting support. The initial targets were logically

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A.M. The Fayetteville Light Infantry was the first to arrive in the afternoon of the riot and brought 86 men to the city. Hayden, *WLI,* 95-7; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 11-14, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 11-12, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 11-12, 1898.

[4] Waddell penned thanks to the military on behalf of the city's citizens for their "prompt and efficient services." Colonel Taylor then responded with a message of thanks to the city's residents who assisted with providing for the needs of the military. Governor Daniel Russell had informed Taylor that he could keep the troops on active duty in the city as long as necessary. However, Wilmington leaders sought to return to normalcy as soon as possible. *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 13-14, 1898.

[5] Despite attempts by Democrats to safeguard the polls, the validity of Bellamy's election was contested by his opponent, Oliver Dockery. The court proceedings, which took place in 1899, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7. *Wilmington Messenger*, November 15, 1898.

Record editor Alex Manly and his staff. According to family tradition and other accounts, Manly escaped from the city well before the march on the press and perhaps even before the issuance of the White Declaration of Independence. Thomas Clawson, editor of the *Messenger* who had sold the printing press to Manly, recalled that he asked Walker Taylor if he could approach Manly on the ninth and tell him to leave town as soon as possible. Manly's family recalled that Clawson had given Manly the codes to pass through Red Shirt picket lines on the outskirts of the city as well as twenty-five dollars to assist in his escape. According to this tradition, Frank and Alex Manly left the city in a buggy and used the passcode several times as they passed for whites.[6] According to other accounts, Alex's brother Frank and *Daily Record* staff member J. N. Goins were in Wilmington when Waddell began his march to the press. Hearing gunshots, the two fled the city before pickets ordered out by Roger Moore were in place. With Manly and his staff out of the picture, the white leaders moved toward removing other men who could forestall or expose their reclamation of the city.[7]

Following a list provided by the Secret Nine, Colonel Taylor dispatched units of the WLI to find and arrest men slated for banishment.[8] Those who could be located on the tenth were placed in the jail overnight, and the search continued into the following days for other men who evaded capture. Some such as Robert Reardon and James Redmon were never captured.[9] Six

[6] Clawson's account is confusing, but he evidently had worked to save Manly's life the day before the riot. He recalled that a group of men sought to lynch Manly after the White Declaration of Independence was written and that he had informed them that Manly was gone. He boasted that his "trip beyond the dead-line that night caused the negro editors to flee, which made it so the pre-arranged 'lynching' and burning party did not go to Seventh and Nun streets to fall into the ambush set about the Record shop." According to Clawson, this ambush consisted of about "two or three hundred armed negroes" who were hiding in the neighborhood to protect the shop and the *Record* staff. Clawson decided that because of his actions, "the 'lynching party' set for that night of November 9 did not take place, but the very next morning hundreds of enraged and affronted white men smashed the negro newspaper shop." It is not clear if such activity happened on the night of the ninth or if Clawson jumbled his memories of the events. His manuscript is undated and could have been written years after the event. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 687-8; Clawson, "Recollections and Memories."

[7] Cody, "After the Storm," 31; *Washington Times*, November 22, 1898.

[8] J. Allan Taylor, Walker Taylor's brother, a member of the Secret Nine and the Committee of Twenty-Five, was in charge of the banishment campaign. There are discrepancies in the accounts of witnesses as to the men imprisoned in the jail overnight. Thomas Clawson recalled that black and white leaders were jailed together overnight. Waddell said that seven black leaders were arrested and jailed overnight and were the same men that were marched under protection of the military to the train. Waddell further stated that others, including three whites, had been sent out but were protected from lynching elsewhere and those men were taken under guard to another train. Thomas Cowan, editor of the *Dispatch*, wrote that several whites were interred in jail overnight and that
Waddell and Moore worked together to prevent the lynch mob from taking action. John D. Bellamy said that the men participating in the banishment campaign were not affiliated with the Committee of Twenty-Five headed by Waddell. He further explained that the banishments were carried out by "some self-assumed authority by some young men." Bellamy also observed that "a good number of us" disliked the fact that some of the men were sent out of town. "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection; Clawson, "Recollections and Memories;" *Colliers*, November 26, 1898; James Cowan, "The Wilmington Race Riot;" C*ontested Election Case*, 258.

[9] George Boylan recounted the WLI search for Redmon in 1905: "I think the swiftest thing I remember was the negro Redmon's coat tails. A squad had been sent out to find his house and when we got there, there were two houses just alike and there was some dispute as to which was his house and I jumped out of the wagon just about between the

men were taken into custody on the tenth as they met at Peden's Barber Shop near Sixth and Brunswick. According to white rumors, the men were meeting at the shop to decide how best to retaliate against white aggression. When arrested, the men were "tossed into Burkheimer's wagon like cordwood." [10] Another group of 3 or 4 men were arrested and "jailed for safekeeping" during the action around Manhattan Park even as a fifth man fled the dance hall and was shot dead.[11]

Peden's barber shop, near 6th and Brunswick Streets, site where six black men who were banished were arrested on November 10th.
Image: New Hanover County Public Library

The men taken into custody were transported to the city jail and detained for their safety. A crowd surrounded the jail about 10:30 on the night of the riot and called for the lynching of the men in the jail. The men of the mob that surrounded the jail were predominantly Red Shirts. The armed guards around the jail, placed by Roger Moore and manned by military units under Taylor's command, refused to give in to the mob. Moore's wife recalled that he personally stood guard at the door from 10:00 at night on the tenth until sunrise on the 11th. Walter MacRae, newly appointed acting sheriff, declared that he would not surrender the prisoners and that his authority was backed by many of Wilmington's leading white citizens including Waddell and Moore. Two white clergymen were involved in the riot at several stages, including Father Christopher Dennen of St. Thomas Church, who stationed himself between the mob and the jail entrance. Rev.

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two houses. All we saw was a flirt of his coat tail as he went over the fence. We ran around the square and some through the square and although he had no longer to go than we did, we never did see him and he has never been seen from that day to this. I believe his dog was seen a few days after that down the street but that was one badly frightened negro." A James Redman was listed in the 1897 *City Directory* as a stork clerk working at 519 Campbell, and his home was located at 817 Harnett. A James Redmond is found in the 1900 *City Directory* living at 614 Dickinson and working as a laborer. Reardon was considered an "objectionable negro barber." Reardon knew that he was being sought and reportedly fled "down the sound." In the 1897 *City Directory*, Reardon was listed as a barber at 29 Market Street and is not listed in the 1900 Directory. "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.

[10] It is unclear which Burkheimer lent his wagon for the arrests. The 1897 *City Directory* lists several Burkheimers, including a large household of men and women living at 208 N. Fourth Street. Hayden, *WLI*, 89.

[11] More on the activity around Manhattan Park on November 10 can be found in the previous chapter. Just as there is confusion in the account regarding the activities around Manhattan Park, there are also multiple references to the arrest and banishment campaign. African American Henry Gause was arrested after the fighting quieted for stealing a gun from a young white boy. Gause reportedly took the gun home and hid it in a mattress. The gun was subsequently found and he was arrested. It is unclear if he was put on a train to leave town. Another black man, Beverly Scott, was arrested on the tenth for parading with a gun in the streets before the election. Other men arrested and jailed were listed in the newspaper on the eleventh: Henry Nicholson, Wisconsin Edwards, James Hill, S. T. Knight, William Tate, and Tom Love. These six were named as men arrested for shooting at the Naval Reserve troops from a house in Brooklyn on the tenth. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 11, 1898; Zeb Walser, *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of the State of North Carolina, 1897-1898*, 29-32.

Robert Strange of St. James Episcopal Church was informed that a mob was going to the jail and was asked to stop them because lynching men in jail would be a "lasting disgrace" to the town. Strange helped place men from Fayetteville around the jail and then talked the matter over with Waddell who was also on hand. Strange, Waddell, Moore and other leaders remained at the jail until daybreak because the mob repeatedly attempted to lure the guards away from the jail just long enough to break in and kidnap those inside. These leaders obviously felt that their presence at the jail would be the only deterrent to such activity. Strange remarked concerning the riot and events at the jail: "[W]e saw what was needed and what could have happened and when we think of what did happen, we all know that it was the best managed thing that ever did happen." [12]

The black men who spent the night in the jail were marched under guard by Morton's Naval Reserves to the train station early in the morning.[13] According to the *News and Observer*, the men were given tickets to Richmond and told to never return to North Carolina. [14] As for the men sent from the city, it is a useful exercise to understand the background of those taken into custody and targeted for banishment as

[12] Roger Moore's widow recounted Moore's roll in the scenario at the jail: "At night, when a wild surging mob congregated in front of the jail for the purpose of lynching the wretches who were placed there for safe keeping, it was Col. Moore who saved their lives and the city from a stain that would have sullied her fair name for all time. Every effort was made by the mob to get rid of him, even subterfuge was resorted to but without avail. Finally he said 'Men we may as well understand each other; you are here to lynch these men and I am here to prevent it; you can only carry out your purpose over my dead body' and mounting the steps of the jail and placing his back to the door he stood there from 10 o'clock at night until sunrise." Letter to the editor, Mrs. Roger Moore, n.d., Mrs. Roger Moore Collection, University of North Carolina at Wilmington Library; Hayden, *WLI*, 101; *Wilmington Messenger*, 11-14-1898; Clawson, "Recollections and Memories;" "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.

[13] Wilmington resident James S. Worth participated in the march to protect at least one banished African American man and escorted others to their homes from the outskirts of the city. His letter to his wife after the event explained his actions and provided insight into his conflicted attitudes towards the city's blacks: "You misunderstood me if you thought I meant the negro, as a race, any harm and you would have known I had no ill feelings against them, as a race, if you had seen me taking them home that day – "it is a long walk from Hilton river bridge to 8th & Dawson – but I started from the bridge with about 25 & delivered the last one at 8th & Dawson of course I searched them under cover of my gun & had to take them through the picket lines on the battlefield. I had to escort one of the meanest niggers of all out of town on the train & would not have hesitated to kill him if he had attempted to escape – and yet his life had been promised him & I simply requested to go for his protection – By the way that was the reason I happened to be at the RR bridge at Hilton – the train was stopped there for me to get off. I don't hesitate to say I think it would have been better that some of those allowed to leave should have been killed instead & yet I hardly now think you could imagine I mean to do them any harm. They have not been treated as brutes – of course some have suffered on account of their fears but they have been generally well treated. Of course I didn't shoot at any of them – but would not have hesitated a moment to do so if I had been fired on or if any of those I saw fired on had been outnumbered. I could not bring myself to the point of firing at any of those I saw shot down even though I knew they had been doing all they could to kill white people. I am however sorry that some of those sent out of town were not killed at the time captured. One goes through peculiar changes of feeling at such times – one minute ready to shoot a negro & the next seeing one home safely to keep him from being shot. No – I personally did very little guard duty – as I was in charge of my block & simply detailed the others on the block each night & went off scouting on my own hook & helping out whenever I could. The whole town was so well organized that the military were free to go to the seat of war and the boys behaved like veterans and not anyone flinched under fire or failed in his duty." James S. Worth to Josephine, James W. Worth Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[14] *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 12, 1898.

opposed to those allowed to remain in the city unmolested. Leading targets were Thomas C. Miller, Ari Bryant, Robert B. Pickens, and Salem J. Bell who were arrested for "using language calculated to incite the negroes."[15] These men were also leading businessmen, with Bell and Pickens operating a fish and oyster business, Bryant a butcher shop, and Miller as a money lender and real estate developer.[16] Conversely, other leaders, including many other businessmen summoned as part of the Committee of Colored Citizens, were not slated for removal.[17]

Wilmington Light Infantry and Naval Reserve troops escorting captured blacks. From *Collier's Weekly*, November 26, 1898.
Image: North Carolina State Archives

Miller's capture was documented by several accounts. Harry Hayden's history of the WLI explained that Miller was arrested according to dictates of the Secret Nine because of his threat to "wash his black hands in the red blood of some whites" during the campaign. Miller, a wealthy man by Wilmington standards, had worked himself up from slavery to become a financial giant who regularly bought and sold land, loaned money, and entered into mortgages with both blacks and whites. By Hayden's account, Miller first resisted efforts by Police Captain John Furlong to jail him but was nonetheless escorted to the jail in a wagon. Hayden recounted that Miller's daughter followed the wagon to the jail. Miller supposedly declared while en route to the jail that "he would rather be dead than to have to undergo such humiliation." Hayden also recounted that Furlong replied to Miller that if he wanted to die, all he needed to do was to jump off the wagon. Thomas Wright of the WLI reported that when his squad arrived at Miller's home, his daughter was on the porch and said he was not at home. Miller was found to be at home, and, after he was arrested,

[15] *Wilmington Messenger*, 11-14-1898.
[16] For more information on the lives of Miller, Bryant, Bell and Pickens, see Appendix A.
[17] For more on the lives of men targeted as members of the Committee of Colored Citizens and for banishment, see Appendix A.

Wright observed that Miller was "one negro we could not make keep quiet and he talked and talked until Ed McKoy's gun went 'click click' and when we told him to shut up, he kept a little quieter." [18] Miller later wrote "when I think about it all knowing I am not Guilty it all most drives me mad – just to think how my own people could treat me as they have with out a Cause knowingly." He related that he was "treated not like human but worse than a dog and someday the Lord will punish them that punished me without a Cause." [19]

Another black leader, Carter Peamon, presents an interesting case of banishment. A politically active barber, Peamon escorted white leaders through Brooklyn to encourage black residents to stay in their homes and not cause troubles. Furthermore, Peamon saved the lives of two white men, M. F. H. Gouvernier and Captain James I. Metts, when they were surrounded by blacks. Peamon was then "sent out of the city" on board the Wilmington, Columbia and Augusta Railroad. It was reported that Peamon tried to jump from the train as it reached the outskirts of town and was shot by men on board the train. Peamon's jail time was short, and he apparently was put on the train on the tenth, earlier than the other banished men. The *Evening Dispatch* reported that Peamon was put on the Atlantic Coast Line southbound train and that his life was saved by Metts, who protected him from whites who "would have taken summary vengeance" on Peamon for his attempts to "incite the negroes." Armed men were on the train with Peamon, and, by the time the train reached Hilton Park at the northern edge of town, he was dead, "lying in the woods." A passenger on the train phoned in the report from Hilton of Peamon's death. Details of Peamon's actions on the day are also recorded in a letter from Jack Metts who said that Peamon was the "leader of the crowd in that section." [20]

Several white men were also slated for banishment for their roles in the Republican Party: George French, Mayor Silas Wright, Robert Bunting, John Melton, Charles McAllister, and C. H. Gilbert. Some of the white men were also jailed and were "in danger of severe treatment by red shirts." The *Morning Star* reported that Melton, Bunting, and Gilbert were given protection by the military at the armory because of "grave threats of violence" against them. The paper noted that the "necessity" of sending the 3 men out of the city "is very much regretted by the more

[18] Miller's treatment and arrest traumatized him as did his exile. Miller wrote a letter to John D. Taylor, clerk of Superior Court, regarding a land transaction in 1902. Miller wrote: "I have been treated not like human but worse than a dog and someday the Lord will punish them that punished me without a Cause. I am Well and doing Well the only thing that worries me is just to think that I were not allowed to come to my Mothers funeral she being 95 years of age and the oldest Citizen on Wrightsville sound just to think of it will last me to my grave if I were guilty of any Crime or was a Criminal it would not worri me in the least but oh my god just to think it is enough to run a sane man insane. Col I hope you will pardon me for the way I write you but when I think about it all knowing I am not Guilty it all most drives me mad—just to think how my own people could treat me as they have with out a Cause knowingly. Oh my god." Miller died the following year in Norfolk and his remains were brought to Wilmington for burial. T. C. Miller to Col. J. D. Taylor, July 9, 1902, New Hanover County Correspondence, 1824-1906, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection; Hayden, *WLI*, 102.

[19] Thomas C. Miller to J. D. Taylor, July 9, 1902, New Hanover County Correspondence, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[20] It is unclear why Peamon was placed on a southbound train when the others were placed on northbound trains. Jack Metts to Elizabeth, November 12, 1898, Hinsdale Papers, Duke University Library, Durham; *Evening Dispatch* (Raleigh),, November 11, 1898; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 11, 1898.

conservative of our people, especially because one of them, R. H. Bunting, is a United States Commissioner, and respect for his office, they say, should have been a protection." The paper concluded that, despite Bunting's position, his "political record in cooperating with the negro element . . . had so embittered many people . . . that it was feared that they could not be restrained from violence." [21] The white men were put on trains on the eleventh and sent to New Bern, where they were ushered further north towards Virginia.[22] Justice Bunting was particularly distasteful to white men because he had married a black woman and they believed "his police courts . . . held the scales of justice so as to favor the negroes and severely punish the whites." [23] His home was "visited" by white men who ransacked the house and hung portraits of Bunting and his wife in the street at Seventh and Market to further incite white supremacy hatred for miscegenation. The day after the riot, Bunting appealed to white leaders for protection and was escorted to the city limits for his protection.[24]

Like Peamon, George French was treated separately from the others. Before French was "found" at the Orton Hotel and escorted to the train by a squad, he was located by Morton earlier during the day of the riot and "asked" to pen support for the use of the Naval Reserves. Morton reported to the adjutant general that he "found the Sheriff at the Orton Hotel, in his room, and notified him of the state of affairs and demanded as a citizen that he go out and preserve the peace." French, as acting sheriff in Elijah Hewlett's stead, "declined" to leave his room but, instead, wrote an order for Morton and Walker Taylor of the Wilmington Light Infantry to "use all force at your disposal to quell the existing violation of the peace in this city."[25] Previous threats had circulated that French was to be hanged on "Church Street, between Front and Surry, directly in front of the old James J. Darby home." In response to the threats, French was hidden by Orton clerk James J. Allen, who said that he had not hidden French "out of any friendship for the 'carpetbagger' but simply to assist in keeping down violence." While boarding the northbound train, French was told to "leave North Carolina and never return again upon peril of his life." While at the station, French was attacked by a group of men who placed a noose around his neck and started to hang him from a light pole on North Front Street. French was struggling for breath and "uttered the Masonic cry of

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[21] Bunting was a Deputy Marshall of the United States District Court in Wilmington and was a magistrate in the city. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898; *Branson's North Carolina Business Directory*, 1897, 448-449.

[22] The *Wilmington Messenger* reflected the sentiments of the campaign when it noted that the root of the "evil" of race relations were "mean white men"—northerners who came to the South and courted black voters. However, some of the white men targeted were Wilmington natives or longtime residents of the city. Melton was a Wilmington native. The New Bern press reported to the *News and Observer* that the Atlantic Coast Line train carrying the white Republicans from Wilmington arrived, and they were escorted from the train to the steamer *Neuse*, which sailed at 6:00 for Elizabeth City. *News and Observer* (Raleigh), 11-12-98; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898; *Contested Election Case*, 360; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 15, 1898.

[23] *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 12, 1898.

[24] Although it was reported that Bunting was escorted to the city limits for his protection, Chief of Police Melton explained that Bunting was held at the cemetery until he was joined by Melton and others. Bunting and the men were then marched under guard through town to the railroad depot where they were sent out of town. Melton observed that Bunting was targeted for verbal abuse once on board the train. *Contested Election Case*, 364-6; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 11, 1898; Prather, *We Have Taken a City*, 140-41.

[25] Zeb Walser, *Biennial Report of the Attorney General of the State of North Carolina, 1897-1898*, 31.

distress." Because of his Masonic ties, French was saved from death by intervention from Frank Stedman, a member of the Committee of Twenty-Five, who indicated to French that he saved him because of their fraternal membership in the Masons. French was so detested because he was seen by the Democrats as "a white politician of influence with the negroes." [26]

The arrest and banishment of Chief of Police John Melton, Populist and leading public figure identified as a member of the Big Six in the campaign, was proclaimed by papers and Democrats. The *News and Observer* reported that he was captured amid "sensation" by a "crowd of rough riders who would have committed violence had not the military interfered."[27] Jack Metts recalled in 1905 that he would "never forget how Melton looked as he sat under a tree at the Armory, he could not eat and when one of the boys went upstairs and took a rope with a noose in it and threw it at his feet, he turned just as white as a sheet." [28] Melton knew that his life was endangered as a result of the campaign propaganda about the Big Six—white men identified as ringleaders of black voters—and the general attitude of white Democrats toward his activities as chief of police. However, he continued to live and work in the city despite the danger. On November 10, Melton observed the march on Manly's press, and, by the time the first shots were fired, he was stationed at city hall where he received reports that squads of 15 to 30 armed white men were spread out all over the city. He then was informed by an officer that "there had been a riot over the railroad and a lot of men killed." The officer could not tell Melton how many had been killed at that point. Melton then received word at city hall "[T]hey were coming over [to] demand the offices, and take them by force if we didn't resign." Melton recalled that after he resigned his office, he went home and was not bothered that night. He did not leave home again until the next morning when he went back to city hall to help with the transition of the new police force led by Edgar Parmele. That day, November 11, Melton was met by G. H. Gilbert and L. H. Bryant just before a mob of about 300 armed whites surrounded the three men to take Melton and Gilbert into custody. Melton asked them why and by whose authority they were acting. In response he was escorted to Squire John Fowler who told Melton to do whatever the mob told him to do.[29]

Melton and Gilbert were then marched up Market Street to the armory where some soldiers joined Melton's escort. They were then marched to "near Seventh and Market" and left there for 10 minutes before being marched to the national cemetery where they were kept under guard until about 1:00 in the afternoon along with Robert Bunting. The 3 were then moved back to the armory and fed. Melton

[26] Other white leaders that assisted in French's rescue were William H. Bernard, F. H. Fechtig, Henry Bauman, Henry Peschau, Henry G. Fennell, H. M. Chase, George L. Morton, Horace Emerson Sr., and M. F. Heiskel Gouvenier. According to Hayden, Fechtig, Bauman, Peschau, and Fennell were in the process of escorting Armond Scott to the train station to board the same train as French when they happened upon the attempted lynching. It is unclear when French was placed on a train; Hayden recounts that French's train ride began on the afternoon of November 11. Contrary to this account, the *Dispatch* states that French left the city on November 10 on the 7:15 P.M. northbound train. *Hayden, WLI,* 102-3; *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 12, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 11, 1898.

[27] *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 12, 1898.

[28] "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.

[29] Melton testified in Raleigh about his experiences during the riot for the court challenge brought by Republican Oliver Dockery against John D. Bellamy for the Congressional election of 1898. *Contested Election Case*, 360-366, 382, 386.

indicated that he repeatedly asked what was to be done with them but received no answers. At 2:00 they were again marched amid yells and shouts from mobs down Market Street and up Front Street to the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad depot.[30] Melton recalled that near the intersection of Princess and Front, a man rushed out of the crowd wearing a "special police badge" and punched him in the temple with a rifle. A. P. Adrian of the WLI intervened and stopped the attacker with his sword. At the depot, the men were forced on the train bound for New Bern. The whites in New Bern had received advance warning that the train was on its way, and leaders there did not allow the men to stop in town. Although Melton knew the New Bern chief of police, he could not get protection since they "hourly expected a similar trouble to that we had in Wilmington." From New Bern, Melton and the others were sent to Elizabeth City by boat and from there to Norfolk by train where they met "some little abuse." From Norfolk, the exiles headed to Washington, D. C. Melton had not returned to the city since his exile and was, instead, living in limbo, calling the town of Magnolia his home. Melton closed his account of his treatment at the hands of the mob by recalling that his captors took "the pleasure of marching me right in front of my wife and children."[31]

Mayor Silas P. Wright was also targeted. He was advised to leave the city on the eleventh, and he requested an extension of a day to collect his effects. Wright was able to make arrangements for his departure quickly and slipped out of town by nightfall on the eleventh in order to avoid treatment similar to that received by Melton, Bunting, Gilbert, and French.[32] Before his departure, Wright was seen riding through town accompanied by James Sprunt as they attempted to "abate the excitement and prevent needless bloodshed." [33] Wright was disliked by the Democratic leaders because he exemplified the concept of relocated northerner who courted black votes. Further, many Democrats claimed he was unqualified for the job.[34]

The harassment of the banished men by Wilmington leaders and other white supremacy advocates did not end at the city limits or as time progressed. Melton, Bunting, Manly, Miller, and Bryant, among others, were tracked as various modes of transport moved them further northward. Short articles in Wilmington and Raleigh papers provided daily updates on the progress of the men with headlines such as "Arrived in Washington," "Keep 'Em Moving," and "Wicked Find No Consolation." [35] Telegrams were sent before the exiles arrived, informing residents of the impending arrivals and forwarding requests to continue to push the men along. The men were pushed further north from Manchester, Virginia, on the fifteenth.[36]

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[30] Later reports of the march for Melton, Bunting and Gilbert indicated that one of the epithets shouted at the men was "white nigger." *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 15, 1898.

[31] Melton refused to provide all details of the campaign and riot that he knew because his family still lived in the city and they had "trouble enough" without his testimony adding "personal controversy." *Contested Election Case*, 360-366, 382, 386.

[32] As they were shoved onto outbound trains, the men were "told in forcible language that if ever again they set foot in Wilmington they would be shot on sight." *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 15, 1898.

[33] *Wilmington Messenger*, November 15, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 13, 1898.

[34] Prather, *We Have Taken a City*, 34, 50.

[35] *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 16, 17, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 15, 1898.

[36] The papers reported that refugee whites, Melton, Bunting, French, and blacks, George Brown, T. C. Miller, and another man with the last name Branch were in Norfolk on November 14. George Brown was severely beaten at the post office although he claimed he had been visiting Wilmington from Canada and working in a confectionary while there.

Although Democratic leaders sought to end the banishment campaign once the few readily identified "troublemakers" were expelled from the city, papers noted that many "are still leaving of their own accord."[37] Many of both races who had been low-level political appointees from city and county government were not forcefully ejected from the city but were encouraged to leave. W. J. Harris, a fifty-year-old white Republican, reported in 1899 that he had no home because he was "run away from it." Harris had been identified as a man who was "white of skin but black of heart" by the newspapers prior to the election, and his departure from the city was considered necessary by leading Democrats.[38] C. P. Lockey, Fusion attorney for the city, also was reported to have left the city in the aftermath of the coup.[39]

Additionally, men such as attorneys William E. Henderson and Armond Scott were informed that they should leave for their own safety. Scott left the city hurriedly on the morning of the riot with the protection and assistance of his brother-in-law Dr. Thomas Mask, white Democratic Party leader Frank Stedman, and a white train conductor. [40] Henderson was notified by a mob of whites the night of the riot that he should leave the city but was allowed to remain for a brief time to put his affairs in order. He and his family were then escorted to the train bound for Richmond. Henderson was seen as a liability by white leaders since he attempted to challenge Waddell at the meeting between the Committee of Twenty-Five and the Committee of Colored Citizens.[41] Young attorney Armond Scott

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It was reported that the men who attacked Brown thought he was Manly but it was later discovered that Manly was in New Jersey at the time of the attack. From Norfolk the blacks went to Baltimore and the whites were not found in Norfolk. Some men of both groups ended up in Washington, D. C., where they sought assistance from the Justice Department and the president. The *Dispatch* reported that one of the exiles thought it would be safe for them to return to Wilmington but that the others knew that "it would be unwise to return." No additional information can be found regarding the actions of these men while in Washington or the response they received from federal officials. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 13, 15, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 14, 16, 17, 1898; Raleigh *Morning Post*, November 15, 1898.

[37] *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 13, 1898.

[38] Harris learned about the treatment received by Melton and Gilbert and that he was to be visited by a group planning to run him out of town. In response, Harris kissed his wife and left his home. From there, Harris had trouble leaving the city because he had to dodge roving bands of Red Shirts who were looking for him. After he finally escaped the city, Harris spent the next months moving from place to place, including Rocky Point, Goldsboro, Raleigh, Greensboro, and Randolph County. Although Harris had not returned to Wilmington by the time of testimony in April 1899, his wife remained in the city. *Contested Election Case*, 387-91; *Wilmington Messenger*, October 20, 1898.

[39] The Wilmington *Star* noted that Lockey was in Fayetteville, "waiting for the clouds to roll by." *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898.

[40] An oral tradition in Wilmington contends that Scott escaped by being placed in a specially made coffin equipped with air holes that was shipped to Washington, D. C. Shirley Webb Smith, telephone interview with LeRae Umfleet, June 17, 2005; Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics*, 169.

[41] On the morning of the riot, Henderson apparently attempted to offset tensions when, according to the *Dispatch*, he presented several leaders with a letter explaining the actions of the Committee of Colored Citizens: "I feel it my duty to set at rest the public minds as to the action of the colored citizens that was intended to meet the white citizens last evening. The object of that meeting too well known to repeat. We discharged the duties entrusted to us by informing the Chairman, Hon. A. M. Waddell, that we would use our individual influence to carry out the wishes of your committee. The same was mailed to Colonel Waddell. We appointed a committee to search for F. G. Manly and inform him of the facts and to urge him to act at once. We were informed and we believed that Editor A. L. Manly is now and has been out of the city for more than a month. Our committee could not find either of the associate editors, but hoped to find them today. Respectfully, W. E. Henderson." Henderson kept a diary of his experiences. That

was given the responsibility of delivering the CCC's response to Waddell. The missed delivery time, due in part to Scott's actions, was cited by whites after the riot as one reason for the march to the *Record* and its destruction. Scott was also "waited upon by a committee of citizens" who told him to leave the city. It was noted on the eleventh that Scott was escorted out of town by the committee of five men who put him on a southbound train.[42]

The experiences of two other men, John C. Dancy and J. Alan Kirk, illuminate the dilemma facing black leaders. John C. Dancy was the federally appointed collector of customs for the port in 1891, the highest paying federal position in the state. He served as port collector until 1893 when President Cleveland replaced him, only to be reinstated by President McKinley. Many Democrats saw Dancy's appointment as another example of "negro domination." Dancy, like other black leaders, fled the city for his safety but was not identified as a leader to be harassed by the committees, in part because of his federally appointed position and because he had the president's favor. In the immediate aftermath of the riot, Dancy tried to ameliorate black/white relations by publishing a letter in the *Star*. Dancy appealed to fellow blacks to "do nothing that will in the slightest degree inflame new passions or revive old ones." He further made a plea to "be quiet, orderly, submissive to authority and refrain from any utterance or conduct that will excite passion in others" so that they could "keep the peace at all hazards."[43] Dancy returned to the city after peace prevailed. He continued his appointment and served as collector until 1901 when he was appointed recorder of deeds for Washington, D. C. by President Roosevelt, and worked in that position until 1910.[44]

Reverend J. Allen Kirk, recently arrived in the city to serve as pastor for Central Baptist Church in Wilmington, was and African American leader singled out by whites as someone who should leave. As a minister and member of the Ministerial Union, Kirk realized that he was a target. Kirk noted that the Wilmington *Evening Dispatch* threatened before the election, that Kirk, "the negro who came from Boston here to lead the Negroes in their depredations had better take his departure and shake the dust of the city from his feet." On the day of the riot, knowing his life was in danger, Kirk evacuated his family to Pine Forest Cemetery. Kirk described his wife as a heroine in the face of danger as she sent her husband farther away from the violence. Kirk left her in the swamp near the cemetery, boarded a boat, and "sailed down the creek . . . waded the swamp and went through the wood and by-paths nine miles from the city." At that point Kirk stopped at Castle Haynes, where he stayed until Sunday when his family joined him. Kirk then left his family "in a country hut in the

volume is owned by descendants who attended the centennial observances of the riot in Wilmington. At that event, Henderson's descendant, Lisa Adams, shared selections from his diary. *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 11, 1898; 1898 Centennial Observances, November 1998, videocassette, 1898 Foundation Collection, University of North Carolina at Wilmington Library.

[42] Scott was described as insolent when, while questioning a railroad employee on the stand, he noted that the railroad had a policy of helping only white women disembark, thereby forcing black women to manage by themselves in the absence of such "courtesies." Local Wilmington papers reported that Scott was in D. C. by November 13 to plead his case with the president. Scott replied to the report that although he was in D. C., he did not plan to act in any "official capacity" to advocate for federal intervention and that he had "no intention of saying anything to the President." *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 11, 15, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 11, 14, 1898; *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 12, 1898.

[43] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898.

[44] For more on Dancy, see Appendix A.

swamps of North Carolina" and boarded a northbound train. Once onboard the train, he was met by Red Shirts who threatened him. Kirk met attorney William A. Moore, another Wilmington black evacuee. Moore had planned to get off the train at Wilson but was forced back on the train. Kirk claimed that he distracted the Red Shirts outside of Wilson and that Moore was able to jump from the train and was not found. Although Kirk had planned to get off the train at Weldon, he evaded the Red Shirts at the Rocky Mount stop, secured a horse, and rode all night to Whitakers where he boarded a "freight" to Petersburg. Kirk later wrote that many of the city's ministers were "exiled and scattered over the country from our pulpits and our people, without having time to get our property or our money or any other means of protection for our families." He also observed the power of the network developed by the Democrats to control every facet of North Carolina life. He explained that his ordeal in leaving the state showed the "complete organic strength of this most regretful and dreadful movement going on in North Carolina. The telegraph, the telephone and even it seems the very railroad train knows how to move against the Negro." [45]

Kirk and Dancy exemplified the mass exodus out of the city that followed the riot. During the riot, untold numbers of men, women, and children fled the city to hide in the swamps and cemeteries for their immediate safety. Once the bullet fire stopped, African American residents of the city were hesitant to return to their homes. Despite promises of safety conveyed by white and black leaders, many did not return to the city, choosing instead live in other towns and cities. The papers noted, however, by two days after the riot, "negroes who fled to the woods in droves Thursday and have since been in hiding are coming back into town, many of them in a famished condition," while others were leaving the city "loaded with packs and bundles, fleeing in the darkness to make their home elsewhere." It is unknown how many people fled the city, and, of that number, how many returned to the city permanently. [46]

The banishment campaign effectively removed political leaders and others equipped to counter claims of Democrats regarding municipal mismanagement or dire circumstances facing the city's whites. Further, men "obnoxious" to white Democrats through economic or political success were expelled, as well as Robert Bunting's African American wife and other black women "who have been talking too much."[47]

For whites, the banishment campaign had its costs. The new city leaders had to address the financial burden of the

[45] William A. Moore is listed in the 1897 *City Directory* as an attorney with offices at the corner of Market and Second Streets. His home is given as 413 South Seventh Street. Moore is not listed in the 1900 directory. Attorney William A. Moore addressed the city's African American Spanish-American War recruits in the summer of 1898. Kirk, *Statement of Facts*, 9-16; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*, 341.

[46] A study of the census and city directories might illustrate a change in the city's population over time. A time consuming study, it would perhaps demonstrate the change in the city's population and provide proof that many of the blacks who called Wilmington home in 1910 came to the city after the riot and that those who lived in the city before November 10th moved away. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 13, 15, 1898; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 13, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898; *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 13, 1898.

[47] Frank Toomer, a black policeman who fled to New Bern during the violence wrote Waddell to ask if he could safely return to the city. Waddell replied that he thought Toomer should not return because he had "made himself very obnoxious to many people." Toomer's request and Waddell's reply were printed in the papers. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 19, 1898; *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 12, 1898.

banishment process and then had to press for an end of the practice. In wrapping up the final "official" costs of the banishment campaign, the Board of Aldermen paid $61.70 to the Atlantic Coast Line for sending 7 blacks and other whites out of the city on the day after the riot.[48] Further, with black leaders removed from the city, a new set of men had to be found to serve as liaisons between the whites and blacks.[49]

Blacks and whites continued to leave the city over the next few days, and their departures were "allowed" by the Democrats who were satisfied that the "worst and most objectionable leaders in the city" were banished.[50] Papers acknowledged that a citizen's committee was handling the banishment campaign. The *News and Observer* reported on the eleventh that "the committee which has been attending to this war of purification tonight promised to desist" and "lay down their arms."[51] Differences of opinion on the continuation of the banishment campaign arose between members of the Secret Nine and other Democrats. Hayden credited Hugh MacRae with persuading J. Allan Taylor to stop Red Shirt Mike Dowling from continuing the banishment campaign. [52]

In review, only a small number of prominent white and black leaders were made to leave the city by force. However, a large number, perhaps in the thousands, left in the days and weeks following the riot to make their homes elsewhere. The banishment campaign enabled the white leaders to extend their influence into the core of the African American community and remove those men deemed too dangerous to keep in the city because of the political or economic challenges they posed for whites. Those men banished by force were labeled for life by the ordeal, and, even if they tried to move beyond banishment, North Carolina Democrats with far reaching resources continually plagued their existence.[53]

[48] Later reports showed that the adjutant general for the State of North Carolina was to pay as much as $1,300 in costs for the services and transportation of the State Guard units brought into the city from other areas. Of that money, $180.87 went to the Maxton company, $112.13 to the Franklinton company, and $259.00 to the Atlantic Coastline Railroad. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 26, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), December 8, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), December 9, 1898; "Minutes of the Wilmington Board of Aldermen," State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[49] Dancy fit easily into the role of an accomodationist and straddled white and black issues. New ministers had to be found as well. The 1900 city directory listed many new names of men who worked as a minister, many more than could be found in the 1897 city directory.

[50] L. H. Bryant, a white Populist, was 68 and had lived in Wilmington almost half of his life by the time of the riot. He was coerced into resigning his job as superintendent of streets and moved to Magnolia around the first of January, 1899. Bryant, like others, chose to leave in the months following the riot instead of immediately. *Contested Election Case*, 394-5.

[51] *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 12, 1898.

[52] Hayden, *WLI*, 75.

[53] The *Star* continually tracked some of the men, including former mayor Silas Wright. In 1948 the paper informed its readers that a local man received word from an acquaintance in Detroit that Wright, then 90 years old, was living in that city. The last part of the article reminded readers that Wright and others on the Board of Aldermen were forced to resign their offices in 1898 in response to pressures from citizens. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), September 24, 1948.

Men Banished From Wilmington During and After November 10th Violence

Name	Identification	Post riot destination/fate
Bell, Salem J. (black)	Partner in Fish/Oyster Business h) 512 Walnut (1897 C.D.) (CCC)	Banished N&O 11/12/1898: marched to train station by George Morton en route to Richmond
Bryant, Ari (black)	Butcher h) 1010 N. Fifth (1897 C.D.)	Banished N&O 11/12/1898: marched to train station by George Morton en route to Richmond
Bunting, Robert H. (white)	U. S. Commissioner h) 1307 Market (1897 C.D.)	Banished N&O 11/12/1898: on train to New Bern
French, G. Z. (white)	Deputy Sheriff Boarder at Orton Hotel (1897 C.D.)	Banished
Gilbert, C. H. (white)	Policeman h) 213 N. Seventh (1897 C.D.)	Banished N&O 11/12/1898: on train to New Bern
Green, Henry B. (black)	Police Sergeant (CCC)	Banished but allowed to return when near death
Henderson, William Everett (black)	Attorney (CCC)	Banished
Kirk, Rev. J. Allen (black)	Central Baptist Church	Banished
Loften, Issac (black)		Banished N&O 11/12/1898: on train to New Bern
Loughlin, James (white)	Clerk at Front St. Market h) 614 S. Front (1897 C.D.)	Banished N&O 11/12/1898: banished because sold weapons to blacks
Manly, A. L. (black)	h) 514 McRae (1897 C.D.)	Banished
Manly, Frank (black)	h) 514 McRae (1897 C.D.)	Banished
McAlister, Charles (white)	Salesman, A. David & Co. h) 412 N. Front (1897 C.D.)	Banished N&O 11/12/1898: on train to New Bern

Melton, John R. (white)	Chief of Police h) 1215 Market (1897 C.D.)	Banished N&O 11/12/1898: on train to New Bern
Miller, Thomas C. (black)	Real Estate/ Pawn broker (CCC)	Banished N&O 11/12/1898: marched to train station by George Morton en route to Richmond
Moore, William A. (Bill) (black)	Lawyer Wilmington Livery Stable Co. h) 413 S. Seventh (1897 C.D.) (CCC)	Banished but allowed to return?
Pickens, Robert B. (black)	Partner in Fish/Oyster Business h) 317 S. Seventh (1897 C.D.) (CCC)	Banished N&O 11/12/1898: marched to train station by Morton en route to Richmond
Reardon, Robert (black)	Barber h) 29 Market (1897 C.D.) (CCC)	Banished
Scott, Armond (black)	Attorney (CCC)	Banished
Toomer, F. P. (black)	Policeman h) 916 Love Ave. (1897 C.D.)	Banished *Morning Star*, 11/19/1898: fled to New Bern and asked to return, told no by Mayor Alfred M. Waddell Not in 1900 C.D.
Wright, Silas P. (white)	Mayor h) boarder at Orton Hotel (1897 C.D.)	Banished

Key:

CCC = Committee of Colored Citizens summoned by Alfred M. Waddell's Committee of Twenty Five to hear White Declaration of Independence

N&O = Raleigh *News and Observer*

C.D. = Wilmington *City Directory*, either 1897 or 1900 as indicated

h = home address

o = office/business location

** More on these men can be found in Appendix A

Dead and Wounded

Even as Waddell and Moore sought to prevent the deaths of the men imprisoned at the jail, skirmishes between blacks and whites continued into the night. The *Messenger* reported that at about 8:35 on the evening of the eleventh, blacks and whites exchanged gunfire along Belcher's Row in Brooklyn. About an hour later more shots were fired along Fourth Street near Harnett. Sporadic fighting raged through the day on the tenth and into the night, and the dead were left on the streets where they had died.[54] Whites forbade families from tending to their dead and wounded, leaving the dead on their backs in the streets with their eyes open as a warning to others. White doctors asked authorities to explain to all that blacks would be treated at the hospital, and, as a result, a number of black patients were brought into the hospital on the eleventh.[55] On the afternoon of the riot, African American coroner David Jacobs drove through town and moved some of the dead to D. C. Evans funeral home on Second Street near Princess to hold the inquest.[56]

It appears that the men retrieved by Jacobs were the ones who received an inquest. Most likely the bodies were picked up for inquest and burial because they had family in the city with the means to provide for proper burial. Other less fortunate men were buried under the cover of darkness by family members who were unable to pay for burial and grave markers. Of the men who received the inquest, burial for John Townsend, Charles Lindsay, William Mouzon, John Gregory, Josh Halsey, and Dan Wright took place on the eleventh.[57]

Jacobs' investigation was farcical and delayed. He first attempted to hold an inquest at the funeral home on the eleventh at 10:00 in the morning. The morning's review was then delayed until 3:00 in the afternoon. The rescheduled hearing was again delayed until 9:00 on the twelfth and was moved to the courthouse. At the inquest on the twelfth, the coroner's jury consisted of four white men—Colonel John W. Atkinson, E. P. Bailey, J. B. Huggins, William M. Cumming—and two black men, Elijah Lane and J. W. Yarborough.[58] Official coroner's records do not survive,

[54] Hayden made the claim that five or six black men wearing their work coveralls were shot and killed after Mayo was wounded. Their "bodies were allowed to remain stretched on their backs with their eyes open as a warning to other blacks." The *Messenger* reported that although several bodies were moved by coroner David Jacobs to a funeral home, some still "lay last night where the men were shot down." Hayden, *WLI*, 89; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 11, 1898.

[55] The hospital, City-County Hospital, was later replaced by James Walker Hospital. City-County Hospital was located in the same general vicinity as James Walker, in the area bounded by Rankin, Gwynn, Woods, and Dickinson Streets.

[56] The *Dispatch* claimed that "not one of the negroes who were killed was a native of the State but were a delegation brought in from South Carolina prior to the election." This claim cannot be substantiated. *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 14, 1898.

[57] Only two grave markers in Pine Forest Cemetery bear death dates related to the riot. Josh Halsey's entry recorded that he was born around 1846, and died November 10, 1898 of a gunshot and was buried in the Halsey family plot, section C. Sam McFarland's record indicated that he was born in South Carolina around 1850, "died of a gunshot in his body" on November 12, 1898, and was buried in lot M or N, section 2. A review of the cemetery log also proves inconclusive since those two men are the only ones listed. Another person, Samuel Hall, age 12, died of gunshot wounds and was buried December 22, 1898. No information has been found to clarify if Hall received his fatal wound as a result of the riot or some other incident. Parts of the cemetery have disappeared over time and many burials may have gone unrecorded. Further, some private and church cemeteries have also disappeared. Pine Forest Cemetery Records, (microfilm), State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[58] *Wilmington Messenger*, November 11 - 13, 1898; *News and Courier* (Charleston) as quoted in the *Wilmington Messenger*, November 15, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 11-13, 1898.

but the papers reported that, after hearing testimony, the jury and coroner concluded that "the said deceased came to their deaths by gunshot wounds inflicted by some person or persons to this jury unknown." Ten people were called to testify to the jury regarding the events of the violence on the tenth and the causes of death for the men. Among those called were Mildred Clinton, Josh Halsey's sister, who had identified him for the authorities when they viewed his body the previous day. An outside correspondent noted that the testimony was "couched in profoundly vague terms," and the resulting jury verdict was "justified by the evidence" presented. [59]

The *News and Observer* had a correspondent in the city who observed that he had "seen no more grewsome sight than was that presented the morning after the fight." He explained that he watched as men in an undertaker's office on Second Street made wooden coffins for 6 men. He described the scene as the corpses of the dead men, clad in their working clothes, lay on the floor near the carpenters and "around them stood negro women with sad faces." Two days after the riot, the Charleston *News and Courier* reported that "several unpretentious funeral processions in the negro quarters were reminders of the deadly work of the Winchesters." [60]

In response to the call by doctors, representatives of the Red Cross and others traveled through the city late in the day and into the eleventh to tend to the needs of the wounded and take them to the hospital.[61] Several black men who were taken to the hospital were identified. Dan Wright, riddled with at least 13 bullets and left to lie in the street, was taken to the hospital late in the afternoon of the riot and died from his wounds the next day. Taken to the hospital on the eleventh were George Henry Davis (shot 6 times), George Miller (shot 2 times), John Dow (shot 2 times), Alfred White, William Lindsay, Sam McFarland (shot 4 times and died on November 12), and John R. Davis (shot in kidneys and back). On the twelfth, John Brown or J. William Bryan, was admitted with 3 bullet wounds in his left leg and one in his right. [62] Dr. Robert Zachary, resident at the Wilmington City Hospital, gave his colleagues insight into his job as it was affected by the riot when, in 1899, he spoke to the North Carolina Medical Society Convention about his treatments of gunshot victims. His short report of the treatment given men wounded in the riot described treatment and wounds for 2 white and 12 black men who were admitted to the hospital on November 10. Zachary observed that "all except the two white men were shot in the back" and that one of the white men had been shot in the foot. All of the men admitted that day recovered except 2 black men who died soon after arriving at the hospital. Zachary prided himself on the fact that "twelve of the fourteen will perhaps live to tell their grandchildren of their experience in the

[59] The testimony of the various men and women for the inquest jury as printed in the newspapers mirrored the details provided in the description of the riot in the previous chapter. Official records of the Coroner's Office for 1898 have not survived. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 13, 1898; *News and Courier* (Charleston) as quoted in the *Messenger*, November 15, 1898.

[60] The identities of several of the dead were widely circulated although one Wilmington paper wrote that it was rumored that "not one of the negroes who were killed was a native of the state" but came to the city from South Carolina before the election. *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 13, 1898; *News and Courier* (Charleston) as quoted in the *Wilmington Messenger*, November 15, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898.

[61] *Wilmington Messenger*, November 14, 1898.

[62] The records conflict on the name of this man *Wilmington Messenger*, November 14, 1898.

famous Wilmington race riot, how bravely they stood up and faced the enemy." [63]

As to the actual number of dead, contemporary sources and subsequent accountings have varied greatly. "There has always been a tendency to minimize or magnify the casualties" said Harry Hayden, explaining that many victims were "removed from time to time from places of hiding under buildings, houses and shanties and in the woods" after dying from their wounds.[64] The Wilmington *Evening Dispatch* predicted that an accurate count of the dead would never be recorded. Thomas Clawson, editor of the *Wilmington Messenger*, stated that 10 to 12 blacks died and 2 whites were seriously wounded. George Rountree believed that 6 or 7 blacks were killed. Willie Parsley believed that 12 to 15 were killed. Fayetteville businessman Peter Mallett recorded in his daybook that 8 blacks and several whites were reported dead as a result of the riot. James Worth wrote his wife that "there couldn't have been less than 18 or 20 blacks killed and scores wounded." African American restaurant owner John D. Franklin recalled that he worked with coroner Jacobs and saw 4 dead men at the funeral home plus one man dead at his home on Sixth between Brunswick and Bladen. Franklin also recalled that 2 black men died at the hospital. [65] Rev. J. Allen Kirk wrote that the streets were "dotted" with dead, and a white man informed him that he saw 10 men at the undertaker's office. Kirk also noted that some dead were found later because of the "stench and miasma that came forth from their decaying bodies under their houses." Kirk claimed that an eyewitness told him she believed that more than 100 people killed. In Raleigh it was reported on the twelfth that 10 were dead outright and that at least 25 were seriously wounded.[66] The

[63] Zachary overlooked the obvious, that the men shot in the back did not bravely face the enemy. They were, instead, likely running for their lives from the fighting and were possibly unarmed targets. An article in the *Washington Post* noted that "many of the victims of the election race riots in that place [Wilmington] were taken to the city hospital to have their wounds dressed or their dying moments made easy." The article pointed out that the hospital was on the outskirts of Wilmington and that, during the riot, the "female white assistants, nurses and others took fright and left the hospital in a body." Therefore, not only was the hospital overrun with emergency patients, but many of its staff members were not on hand to assist. Dr. R. E. Zachary, "Gun-Shot Wounds – With Report of a Case of Gun-Shot Wound of Stomach" *Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of North Carolina, Forty-Sixth Annual Meeting*, (Observer Printing and Publishing House: Charlotte, NC, 1899), 134; *Washington Post*, November 14, 1898.

[64] At this point in his narrative, Hayden also provided reports from other eyewitnesses as to the dead. He pointed out that the Coroner held 14 inquests although that many has not been documented due to lack of records. He also recorded the memory of a young man who saw a Cowan Livery Stable wagon drive by his house with twenty dead blacks piled on like "cordwood" and that he later saw twenty bodies at a black mortuary. As an example of the hidden murders, Hayden recounted that a Red Shirt claimed to have witnessed the shooting deaths of six men near the Cape Fear Lumber Company plant and their remains buried in a nearby ditch. Hayden, *WLI*, 92-94.

[65] *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 11, 1898; Clawson, "Recollections and Memories;" Rountree, "Memorandum." "I felt sure that in the event of a collision there would be several hundred [killed] but I overestimated their courage or foolhardiness." Willie to Sallie, [November 12, 1898], Eccles Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; "War commenced/Race at Wilmington today—8 negroes reported killed and several whites—Col. Waddell and best citizens in [ ]. More trouble feared tonight/ Russell French and other scum did keep out of the way—negroes suffer." Daybook, Peter Mallett papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; James Worth to Josephine, November 126, 1898, James S. Worth Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; *Contested Election Case*, 19-20.

[66] Kirk and Hayden both acknowledged that mortally wounded men fled the fighting and were later found

next day it was reported that "before the firing had ceased, half a dozen negroes were biting the duty in death, three white men were wounded and three times as many negroes." These varying accounts from local and statewide sources, many by witnesses, prove that no actual number of dead will ever be known.[67] For the purposes of this report, an attempt was made to identify dead from as many sources as possible and compare those sources to eliminate duplication. The following list provides, with as much detail as possible, the names of dead and wounded men and the location in which they were murdered. The names of some dead will remain unknown whereas others have been identified. Again, due to the paucity of definitive sources on the names of the dead, the locations where murders took place, and conflicting information provided by existing sources, no accurate tally can be made. It is unclear if Wilmington's whites sought to cover up many of the deaths or if they were boastful of the numbers of dead. Another impediment to making calculations is the scarcity of tombstones to mark the graves of men who died immediately as well as those who died from their wounds after languishing in the hospital and homes of Brooklyn.

Pine Forest Cemetery, ca. 1900. Documentation of burials at Pine Forest has been difficult. Many tombstones have been damaged and some burials may not have had stones placed in the cemetery.
Image: New Hanover County Public Library

dead in a variety of settings. Therefore, an accurate count of people who died as a result of the violence is even more difficult to ascertain since North Carolina did not require the completion of death certificates or regulate burials until later in the Twentieth century. For example, in Wilmington's National Cemetery is Scipio Condring, a Civil War veteran who served in the 128th United States Colored Troops. No information can be found on the cause of Scipio's death, inscribed on his headstone as November 13, 1898. Research into the life of Scipio was inconclusive although it is speculated that his last name was not actually Condring, but instead, some derifavtive of Connelly. Kirk, *Statement of Facts*¸10-15.

[67] The *Progressive Farmer* reported 11 killed and 3 whites wounded. The report of the superintendent of health for the city as published in the paper accounted for eight killed during the riot. Only one white man, William Mayo, was seriously wounded. Mayo's recovery was well documented in local papers in November and December. Another white man, B. F. King Jr., died about four days after the riot from the flu, contracted while patrolling the city. It is unknown if others of either race suffered the same fate. *Progressive Farmer* (Raleigh), November 15, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 15, December 1, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), December 7, 1898; Kirk, *Statement of Facts*, 10-15.

Black Dead/Wounded

This list was compiled from various sources and contains the names of men who were wounded or killed as a result of the violence on November 10. Also included in this list are several unknown deceased men whose place of death has been recorded. Not found in this list are the names of others, or locations of shootings, who have only vague references, such as the report in Hayden's *History of the Wilmington Light Infantry* to the deaths of 25 men near Sixth and Brunswick Streets.

First Name	Last Name	Sources	Notes
Unknown		*Messenger*: 11/11/1898 and 11/14/1898, killed at Carolina Central Tracks west of 2nd on Harnett	Died
Unknown		*Messenger*: 11/11/1898, killed as he shot at whites east of railroad repair shop near Third at 4:00 P. M. on tenth *Messenger*: 11/14/1898, left where he was shot and body still on tracks at nightfall	Died
Unknown		*Messenger:* 11/14/1898, killed at Manhattan Park [Halsey?] Hayden's *History of the WLI*, p. 92	Died
Unknown		*Star*: 11/11/1898, shot dead by guard at 4:30 P. M. on the tenth at Fourth Street bridge after he snapped a musket at the guard *Dispatch*: 11/11/1898, killed on ACL tracks near Fourth Street bridge	Died
Unknown		*Dispatch*: 11/11/1898, killed at Seventh and Bladen [Halsey?] Hayden's *History of the WLI*, p. 92	Died
Unknown		*Dispatch:* 11/11/1898, shot on Fourth near Red Cross, supposed dead	Died
Unknown		*Dispatch:* 11/11/1898, killed at Tenth and Princess at 8:00 P.M. on tenth for refusing to stop for a patrol	Died
Unknown		*News and Observer*: 11/12/1898, killed at railroad tracks early in the morning of the eleventh by a soldier	Died
Unknown		*News and Observer*: 11/12/1898, killed at Tenth and Mulberry (Grace) for failure to stop for a patrol	Died
[Gray]	Bizzell	*Morning Star*: 11/11/1898, shot and died at home on 411 Harnett (where George Davis was found)	Died
John L.	Gregory	*Messenger*, 11/11/1898, died on Third between Harnett and Swann *Messenger*: 11/13/1898, given inquest on twelfth *Morning Star:* 11/12/1898, given inquest on twelfth	Died h) 1301 N. Fifth Street, laborer
Sam	Gregory	*Messenger*: 11/11/1898, and 11/14/1898, died between Harnett and Swann *Dispatch:* 11/11/1898, died at Fourth and Harnett	Died
Josh	Halsey	*Messenger:* 11/12/1898, killed, Bladen near Seventh *Messenger:* 11/13/1898, sister Mildred Clinton testified at inquest on twelfth that body she saw in street was her brother *Morning Star:* 11/12/1898, inquest given *Association of the WLI* mentions his shooting in a couple of places Hayden's *History of the WLI*, p. 92 (Seventh and Bladen)	Died
Charles	Lindsay	*Messenger*: 11/12/1898, among first killed at Fourth and Harnett, buried 11/11 *Messenger:* 11/13/1898, given inquest on twelfth *Morning Star:* inquest on twelfth *Dispatch:* 11/11/1898, listed as "unknown" and first to	Died Age: 25 (1897 tax list)

		die at Fourth and Harnett Hayden's *History of the WLI*, p. 92	
Sam	McFallon	*Morning Star*: 11/12/1898, wounded and taken to hospital—had crawled under house on Fourth between Harnett and Swann—was discovered on eleventh and taken to hospital, expected to die *Dispatch:* 11/11/1898, an unknown man found dead under the house	Died 1897 tax list: Two Simon McFallon, one an elderly father that owned property and another, possibly a son, age 32. Neither listed in 1900 records.
Sam	McFarland	*Messenger:* 11/12/1898, wounded and taken to hospital; *Messenger:* 11/13/1898, died 11/12/1898, shot and thought dead on Harnett at SAL tracks *Dispatch:* 11/11/1898, in hospital *Messenger:* 11/13/1898, gives details of his life, job, work, etc.	Died 1897 CD: h) 512 Taylor, laborer 1897 tax list: age, 47
George	Miller	*Messenger:* 11/12/1898, in hospital *Messenger*: 11/11/1898, to hospital on tenth *Dispatch*: 11/11/1898, in hospital, expected to die	Died
William	Mouzon	*Messenger:* 11/12/1898, among first killed at Fourth and Harnett, buried 11/11 *Messenger:* 11/13/1898, given inquest on twelfth *Star:* inquest on twelfth *Dispatch:* 11/11/1898, listed as "unknown" and first to die at Fourth and Harnett Hayden's *History of the WLI*, p. 92	Died
Carter	Peamon	*Messenger*: 11/11/1898, shot as he jumped off train *Dispatch*: 11/11/1898, body still lying in woods near tracks	Died
Tom	Rowan	June Nash, "Cost of Violence," p. 168 – was a bar owner killed on wharf	Died
John	Townsend	*Messenger*: 11/12/1898, among first killed at Fourth and Harnett, buried 11/11 *Messenger:* 11/13/1898, given inquest on twelfth *Star:* inquest on twelfth *Dispatch:* 11/11/1898, listed as "unknown" and first to die at Fourth and Harnett Hayden's *History of the WLI*, p. 92	Died
Daniel	Wright	*Messenger*: 11/11/1898, 11/12/1898 on his death *Messenger: 11/13/1898*: given inquest on twelfth *Star*: inquest on twelfth *Dispatch*: 11/11/1898, Mayo's assailant, died at hospital on eleventh *Association of the WLI* mentions his shooting Hayden's *History of the WLI*, p. 90	Died 1897 tax list: age, 40 1897 CD: h) 810 N. 3rd, laborer
J. R.	Davis	*Messenger:* 11/12/1898, at hospital, wounded in kidneys *Messenger*: 11/11/1898, taken to hospital on tenth	Wounded, fate unknown
Unknown		*Messenger*: 11/11/1898 and 11/14/1898, wounded and treated at home on Davis Street by a doctor	Wounded, fate unknown
Unknown		*Evening Star*: 11/11/1898, wounded at Front and Castle because refused to stop for patrol, attended by a doctor,	Wounded, fate unknown

		not fatal	
John	Brown	*Messenger:* 11/13/1898, taken to hospital on twelfth	Wounded, fate unknown Several listed in CD and tax list
George Henry	Davis	*Messenger:* 11/12/1898, in hospital *Messenger*: 11/11/1898, to hospital on tenth *Dispatch*: 11/11/1898, in hospital, expected to die Hayden's *History of the WLI*, p. 89	Wounded, fate unknown Several listed in CD and tax list
John	Dow/Daw	*Messenger:* 11/12/1898, in hospital *Messenger*: 11/11/1898, to hospital on tenth *Dispatch*: 11/11/1898, in hospital, expected to die	Wounded, fate unknown
George	Gregory	*Evening Star:* 11/11/1898, given a coroner's inquest—probably same as John L. Gregory who received an inquest	Wounded, fate unknown
William	Lindsay	*Messenge:* 11/12/1898, wounded and taken to hospital on eleventh *Dispatch*: 11/11/1898, same info.	Wounded, fate unknown
Alfred	White	*Messenger*: 11/12/1898, wounded and taken to hospital on eleventh *Dispatch*,: 11/11/1898, in hospital	Wounded, fate unknown Several listed in CD and tax list

Messenger: 11/11/1898, some bodies moved to D. C. Evans Funeral Home by Jacobs shortly after shooting, but others still lay in street at nightfall
Evening Dispatch: 11/11/1898, "In addition to this list there are a number killed not accounted for and who will never be accounted for."

The 1897 city directory also listed a Sam McFarlan, a laborer who lived at 1014 N. Second Street.

Harry Hayden's history of the Wilmington Light Infantry proved a valuable source for oral traditions within the white community regarding the deaths of black men. Hayden's work, written decades after the riot, was based on oral interviews and printed accounts in newspapers and other contemporary sources. Hayden's list has been compared with other sources and some of the deaths reported in his work are found in the list above. Other deaths could not be substantiated.

Hayden's list:

1) Two died at Fourth and Harnett
2) Two others ran into building around corner – George H. Davis was one of them
3) Mayo shot
4) Shooting after Mayo wounding => 5-6 laborers in coveralls killed
5) 1 killed at 6th & Brunswick by machine gunners
6) Dan Wright
7) 6 shot to death at 4th and Harnett (partial duplicate of #1) including John Townsend, Charles Lindsay, William Mouzon
8) John Halsey shot at 7th & Bladen
9) 25 killed by rifle fire after machine gunners shot at near 6th & Brunswick
10) 1 killed when shot at whites from Manhattan Hall (ran gauntlet)
11) Red Shirt claimed 6 shot near Cape Fear Lumber Co plant and buried in nearby ditch
12) 9 killed by white marksman
13) A youth shot "rabble rouser" as he spoke to a crowd near 4th & Nixon
14) Red Shirt reported that a deaf negro killed because he did not hear command to stop
15) 1 killed near Front & Princess because refused to obey command not to advance
16) 1 killed on wharf and tossed into river after "sassed" two whites
17) Red Shirt killed policeman in Dry Pond

18) Walker Taylor told State Attorney General that 11 died but later estimated 20
19) Other authorities contend over 100 because bodies tossed into river or buried in secret
20) Others claim as many as 250
21) Waddell claimed 20 -30 in *Memoirs*
22) J. Daniels, *Editor in Politics* estimated 12
23) Witness account to Hayden of a black man killed on N 4th by Fayetteville Light Infantry immediately after they arrived in city
24) Witness account to Hayden of 20 bodies on Cowan Livery Stable wagon driven by his house and later saw 20 bodies at a mortuary near 2nd and Princess
25) A number of other dead negroes were later removed from time to time from places of hiding
26) Peamon shot when jumped from train

Other Targets

Although the violence was centered in Wilmington, men throughout the state were threatened with bodily harm both before and after the election. A gradual shift in both the racial and political makeup of the state was reflected in the political rhetoric of the white supremacy campaign. Whereas many Wilmingtonians were either killed or banished as a result of the election campaign or the violence on November tenth, a few white men such as Wilmington Populist Benjamin Keith, Senator Marion Butler, and Governor Daniel Russell were assured that they had escaped with their lives. All experienced physical threats, with Keith living in constant fear in Wilmington, Russell barricaded in the Governor's Mansion, and Butler moving between North Carolina and Washington, D. C.

Keith maintained throughout the rest of his life that men such as Furnifold Simmons worked to ruin him financially and politically, even threatening his family well into the twentieth century. Keith managed to keep his prospects open and was appointed collector of customs for the port of Wilmington in 1903 by President Theodore Roosevelt and held on to the position for over 12 years before retiring to his Pender County farm. In the period prior to the riot and in the ensuing decades, Keith continuously was on the defensive in business and politics in order to forestall efforts by Democrats to deprive him of either income or political station. [68]

After the election and the frenzy surrounding the riot, Governor Russell went to Asheville with his wife on November fourteenth for her health. Russell wrote Butler on the twelfth that "Mrs. Russell has been through such a terrible ordeal that I am getting uneasy about her." He was afraid that she was on the verge of a breakdown, and, as a result, he was taking her on the trip "for a day or so." One of the stresses factors weighing upon the Russells was the realization that his "friends in Wilmington" had tried to assassinate him. Their trip was planned to only last two days. While they were there, Russell met with leading Republicans to discuss the party's defeat.[69] Upon his return to Raleigh, Russell found himself isolated from the Republican Party and set to face an aggressive Democratic legislature in 1899. Russell feared that if he resigned or if were impeached, he would not be able to return to Wilmington because there "the devils are breaking up our business and it looks like we will be driven from our home." Uncertain about his future, Russell even asked his friend Benjamin Duke if he could get a job with his tobacco firm in New York. Russell confided in Duke that "being a Republican and living in the South are getting to be too rank to be borne."[70]

When the General Assembly convened in 1899, Russell's biennial message was cautious but addressed the issue of race and politics. Russell denied Democratic Party accusations of "negro

[68] Keith, *Memories*; Connor, *History of North Carolina: North Carolina Biography* V, 117. Although Keith was respected by some businessmen of Wilmington after the 1898 coup, he had just as many enemies. In 1921, in an attempt to secure reappointment as the collector of customs for the port, Keith penned a long letter to President Warren G. Harding in which he detailed his personal and political trials: "[A]fter destroying my business, they for years tried to ostracize me and my family." B. F. Keith to President Harding, July 5, 1921, photocopy of original owned by Thomas J. Keith.

[69] Discussion of the attempted assassination of Russell can be found in Chapter 4. *Raleigh Morning Post*, November 15, 1898; Governor Russell to Marion Butler, November 12, 1898, Marion Butler Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[70] Daniel Russell to Benjamin Duke, November 19, December 2, 1898, B. N. Duke Papers as cited in Crow, *Maverick Republican*, 136.

domination" under Fusion and gave proof by showing actual statistics of black office holding in both Wilmington and around the state. Throughout the remaining sessions of the legislature, Russell remained relatively quiet and was unable to veto any of the actions of the Democrats as they dismantled most of the Fusionist reforms. Local self-government was eliminated in favor of centralized control of local officials, election laws were rewritten, and a suffrage amendment was on the calendar.[71] Russell did return to Wilmington in 1901 and successfully manipulated several court battles, one of which forced North Carolina's state government, controlled by Democrats, to pay some of its previously repudiated Reconstruction debts.[72]

As a senator, Marion Butler was in Washington for the beginning phases of the 1898 campaign, but, by November, he was involved in attempts to organize and hold together the Populist Party at both the local and national levels. Butler had used his newspaper, the *Caucasian*, to deride Democrats to no avail. After the election, his paper claimed that intimidation, bloodshed, and unlimited financial assets were used effectively to prevent the votes of about 30,000 men from being cast.[73] Once the Democrats regained control of state government, Butler's life was still in danger; as articles in papers and letters from associates made clear the Democratic hatred toward him. [74] During the summer of 1899, Butler studied law and was admitted to the bar, aware that his political career, as well as the life of the Populist Party's influence, was coming to an end. Butler lost his senate seat in 1900, and, although he remained true to the principles of the Populist Party, he joined the Republican Party in 1904. [75]

Waddell and his cabinet

In order to justify their political coup and maintain a measure of public support, Waddell and other white leaders knew that they must restore order to the city, entice blacks to return to their homes and workplaces, and push for validation of the election.[76] Failure to do these things would

[71] The suffrage amendment was proposed in order to limit the ability of African Americans to vote. Further discussion of the disfranchisement amendment will be found in Chapter 7. *Public Documents of the State of North Carolina*, 1899, 3-26; Crow, *Maverick Republican*, 140-1.

[72] Russell died at his plantation in 1908 and received lukewarm eulogies in state newspapers. Crow, *Maverick Republican*, 160-185, 187-8.

[73] James L. Hunt, *Marion Butler and American Populism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 154.

[74] James B. Lloyd wrote Butler that he was afraid someone would try to kill him, particularly after an article was published in the *Charlotte Daily Observer* about Butler. Lloyd urged Butler to get back to Washington as quickly as possible for his own safety. Governor Russell wrote Butler to reassure him that it was not likely that "they will try to assassinate you." Russell did not think Butler was in jeopardy but told him to "be a little careful." James B. Lloyd to Marion Butler, November 13, 1898, Governor Russell to Marion Butler, November 12, 1898, Marion Butler Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[75] Hunt, *Marion Butler*, 161.

[76] The returns from the election held on November 8, 1898 had to be validated by officials as a true account of the votes cast. One requirement was that the returns from each precinct had to be signed by the registrars and others appointed to jobs at the precincts. In the Fifth Precinct of the First Ward, where the ballot counting was interrupted, at least two of the officials were African American and had left the precinct before all of the votes were counted. As a result, they did not sign the final tally sheets of the night. Abram Fulton was called to the courthouse on the Monday following the riot, November 14, 1898, to sign the returns and to receive his pay. Assuring the signatures on the returns was one step in proving the validity of the elections in case of a contested election. The Wilmington *Morning Star* of November 10, 1898, reported that the official vote would be recorded in the clerk of Superior Court's office that day and the official returns were published

surely invite outside investigation or the introduction of federal troops to the city. Consequently, Waddell and his Board of Aldermen met daily to achieve an end to the bloodshed and effect peace in the city.[77] The minutes of the Board of Aldermen reflect the turmoil only marginally and hint at confusion. [78]

Waddell and his Board of Aldermen met officially for the first time on November 11. Eight aldermen—C. H. Ganzier, Rev. J. W. Kramer, Preston Bridgers, W. H. Sprunt, A. B. Skelding, B. F. King, Charles W. Worth, and H. P. West—were present. Waddell's purpose for the special meeting was to "reorganize the police force and take action in keeping peace." New chief of police Edgar Parmele reported that he had only 9 policemen on duty the night of the riot and 4 the morning of the eleventh in addition to the 200 special policemen that he had sworn in the night before. On the motion of Alderman Worth, the board voted to authorize Waddell to "confer with the military as to police in the city" and instructed him to issue "a proclamation for all good citizens to stay at their homes," offering assurance that the city would be fully policed that night. Waddell's cabinet also accepted the resignations of Alderman C. D. Morrell and Superintendent of Streets L. H. Bryant. By the end of the meeting, "the officers of the military were present and the Mayor stated the object of Alderman Worth's motion and explained at some length as to what he wished done." In response, Col. Walker Taylor spoke to the board and "offered the assistance of the military." [79]

The following day Waddell's cabinet again met and selected 37 men to serve as "temporary policemen" for 30 days. The board also voted to extend the ordinance that closed saloons until November sixteenth. Alderman Keith's resignation was accepted before the group adjourned. Waddell's board did not officially meet again until November fourteenth when J. Allan Taylor and Hugh MacRae were elected Aldermen from the Third Ward. The group adjourned until the fifteenth when Waddell and the aldermen decided on committee

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the following day. Because the riot took precedence on the front page, the returns were published only for the congressional election of Bellamy in which he received 289 more votes than Dockery in New Hanover and an overall majority of almost 6,000 votes in the whole of the Sixth District *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 10-11, 1898; *Contested Election Case*, 332-6.

[77] One of the first actions of Waddell and the Board of Aldermen was to assure both Wilmington residents and outside observers that the new administration would create a peaceful city: "To the good white people of Wilmington: The undersigned, upon whom has been placed a great responsibility by the action of his fellow citizens, takes the method of assuring the good people of this city that all the power with which he is invested will be exerted to preserve order and peace in this community, and that power is amply sufficient for the purpose. All well disposed persons are earnestly requested to co-operate with the municipal authorities in every way possible to secure the permanent establishment of good government. The law will be rigidly enforced and impartially administered to white and black people alike. A. M. Waddell, Mayor." *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 11, 1898.

[78] For example, page 15 records the meeting held on the November 10 by Mayor Wright at the home of Alderman Charles Morrell at 12:50 P.M. Clerk William Struthers recorded the actions of Wright's administration to further prohibit alcohol sales even as the riot was underway. On page 16 are the signatures of Democrats who claimed to be sworn in as aldermen and the oath of Waddell as Mayor. The next page has another sworn statement and signature of Waddell as mayor. The signatures on pages 16 and 17 are out of order because the next page, 18, contains the formal minutes of the resignations and replacement elections held at 4 o'clock on the tenth. William Struthers also recorded this information for the transition. "Minutes of the Wilmington Board of Aldermen," November, 1898, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[79] "Minutes of the Wilmington Board of Aldermen," November, 1898, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

appointments and city patronage positions.[80] The next day Waddell's board met to discuss the reorganization of the city fire departments and the purchase of equipment to establish a mounted police patrol. Additionally, the board declared that all city officers who had not tendered their resignations were discharged from their posts. [81]

Waddell's cabinet took another break until November 22 when they met to discuss the timing of the resignation of city clerk and treasurer William Struthers. Struthers had dutifully recorded the minutes of the Wright administration as well as the transfer to Waddell. Struthers took the minutes of the November 22 meeting and recorded that he would resign his office on January 1, 1899. Josh James was elected to replace Struthers at that time. The board also declared the position of city attorney vacant unless the incumbent, Caleb P. Lockey, resigned before December 1. Thomas Strange was elected to replace Lockey at that time. Alderman Kramer made a motion to return the wages of street hands to $1.00 per day. The motion failed, and the street hands were to continue receiving the current pay of 8 cents per hour. Three days later the board met again to discuss bills for transporting both soldiers and those banished from town. It was approved that the board pay the railroad bill for transportation to Richmond for 7 men and to New Bern for 2 in addition to the hotel bills for soldiers. The matter of the pay for street hands was brought up again, possibly after pressure from the employees, and the pay was raised to the $1.00 per day as requested earlier.

A full changeover to a purely Democratic regime emerged slowly by the end of 1898. By December, the resignation of C. P. Lockey as city attorney was in hand, and three aldermen put in office after the coup resigned and were replaced.[82] Fire Chief Charles Schnibben was possibly the only city employee who managed to save his job. Schnibben had been appointed chief under Wright's administration in 1897, and, in December, it was decided that he should remain in place. At the first December meeting, the board received a report that there had been 83 arrests after the riot, with 42 being whites and 41 being blacks. The majority of arrests were for drunk and disorderly behavior. Four whites were arrested for firing pistols in the city, and 3 people were incarcerated for throwing rocks.

[80] Appointments were as follows: Captain of Police, John J. Furlong; Police Lieutenant, F. Skipper; First Sgt, J. L. Sallings; 2nd Sgt, Joseph R. Davis; 3rd Sgt, J. D. Orrell; Day Janitor for City Hall, R. A. Benson; Night Janitor for City Hall, J. A. Lane; Health Officers, G. W. Cameron and M. Kirchbaum; Superintendent of Streets, J. A. Perry. "Minutes of the Wilmington Board of Aldermen," November, 1898, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[81] The meeting held on November 16 was a special session designed to make "selections of whites to fill places of Negro firemen." New fire department leaders were J. J. Bell, Engineer of Engine Co. No. 2; L. Freemuth, Foreman of Engine No. 2; M. F. Dowling, Foreman of Hose Reel Co. No. 3. Firemen hired included Theodore Swann plus 16 other white men. George Irving was elected cattle weigher. A Raleigh paper ran a headline, "Elimination of Negroes Complete —All of Departments in Wilmington in White Hands," to assure outsiders that Waddell and the city were following through with their pre-election promises. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 17-18, 1898; Raleigh *Morning Post*, Novmeber 17, 1898; "Minutes of the Wilmington Board of Aldermen," November, 1898, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[82] Party infighting resulted in the resignations and a substantial delay in the selection of replacements. Bridgers and King claimed personal business pressures required them to dedicate themselves to their businesses; Kramer resigned to accept a pastorate in another city. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 770; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 24 – December 10, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 24 - December 10, 1898.

Rounding out the tallies, 6 whites were arrested for larceny. [83]

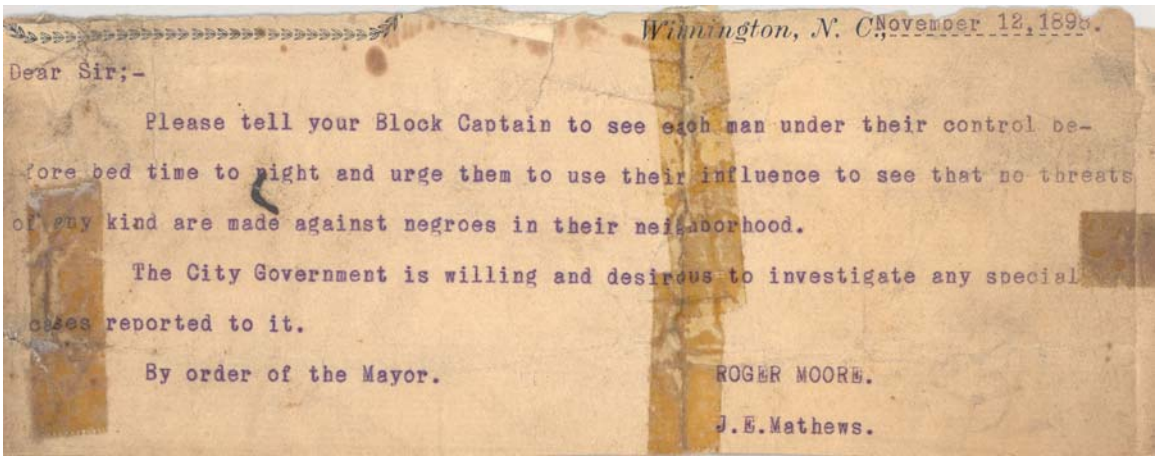
The county commissioners were dominated already by a Democratic majority but were hampered by Fusionists at every turn. The Democrats had regained control of the county after a series of court battles in mid-1898, but they had to rely on Fusionists in the sheriff's office and courts to accomplish any tasks. Since Fusionists and Democrats could not cooperate in bipartisan spirit, very little was accomplished by the board led by Roger Moore. Once the municipal government was under Waddell's command, the county government also worked to eliminate any black presence, to ensure the validity of the coup, and to make adjustments to county appointments to become more effective. Just as resignations of the city's black and Republican leaders and employees were coerced, so were resignations at the county level. By mid-December, most of the Fusionists had submitted their resignations and their replacements had been chosen. One county department, the Board of Education, was thoroughly restructured after the coup. The new board, selected by the county commissioners, met on December 13, and decided that school committees would be comprised "exclusively of white citizens" even for black school districts. All blacks who were on any school committees in the county were expected to resign. M. C. S. Noble, white superintendent of schools, also was expected to resign.[84]

Straddling city and county affairs was the Board of Audit and Finance. The board held the purse strings for the city and reported to the county. John Webber, the only black member of the Board of Audit and Finance resigned under duress on November 15. At the meeting where his resignation was accepted, the board, which consisted of H. G. McQueen, C. W. Yates, and S. P. McNair, approved the expenditures of the Board of Aldermen for 100 policemen for a period of 30 days. The board deferred replacement of Webber until a suitable person was identified from the First Ward. The Board of Audit and Finance also accepted formal notice of the resignations of Wright's administration and the election of replacements led by Waddell.[85]

[83] An earlier hearing by Waddell as part of his attempts to control municipal crime through his special mayoral court was the hearing of Thomas Lane, the black man accused of firing at the Wilmington Light Infantry. The WLI and white leaders contended that if Lane had not shot at the military, it would have not been necessary for them to kill John Halsey. Lane was convicted and sentenced to jail time. For more information on Halsey's murder, see chapter 5. "Minutes of the Wilmington Board of Aldermen," November, 1898, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[84] It is unclear if Noble's resignation was demanded. Noble was the son of a Confederate officer and had earned a reputation throughout the state for excellence in the management of the Wilmington schools. He came to Wilmington in 1882 to serve as superintendent of the city schools and earned acclaim for his progressive educational models. By November 1898, he had recently been invited to return to Chapel Hill as a professor of pedagogy with the university. It is unclear if he would have continued to serve as city schools superintendent or if the resignation would have been given regardless of the political climate. Regardless of circumstance, with the departure of Noble, Wilmington's schools lost a strong education advocate for both blacks and whites. New Hanover County Board of Commissioners Minutes, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), December 4, 7, 14, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), December 6, 1898; *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography* s.v., "Noble, Marcus Cicero Stephens."

[85] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 16, 1898; New Hanover County Board of Commissioners Minutes, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.



Wilmington, N. C., November 12, 1898.

Dear Sir;-

Please tell your Block Captain to see each man under their control before bed time to night and urge them to use their influence to see that no threats of any kind are made against negroes in their neighborhood.

The City Government is willing and desirous to investigate any special cases reported to it.

By order of the Mayor.

ROGER MOORE.

J.E.Mathews.

Instructions from Roger Moore to Block Captains

Dear Sir: -

Please tell your Block Captain to see each man under their control before bed time to night and urge them to use their influence to see that no threats of any kind are made against negroes in their neighborhood.

The City Government is willing and desirous to investigate any special cases reported to it.

By order of the Mayor.

Roger Moore.
J.E. Mathews.

Peace Restored

Still using the newspapers to their advantage, the Democrats, through the official arms of the mayor and Board of Aldermen, sought to end blatant violations of the law in the name of white supremacy. Waddell moved to stop the unauthorized use of weapons by vigilantes. To stop these men and to provide official condemnation of the violence for outsiders, Waddell issued a proclamation that was printed in the papers: "The comparatively few persons in this city who seem disposed to abuse the opportunity of carrying arms which recent events afforded and who are doing some very foolish talking and acting are notified that no further turbulence or disorderly conduct will be tolerated." Waddell's threat carried the backing of the police, and he stated that "no armed patrol will be allowed to appear on the streets except those authorized by the chief of police." Further, the papers echoed the desire of leaders to end the banishment campaign when it noted that "the boys are administration's commitment to peace, Waddell held the first session of city court on November 14 where several whites were tried, found guilty, and fined for disorderly conduct. One African-American, Primus Bowen, had been arrested for "having too much oil in his possession for an ordinary peaceable negro" but was released when it was discovered that he was employed as a lamplighter.[87]

Some black citizens, hoping to return to the appearances of normalcy, tried to return to work amid armed patrols that searched every black man who crossed their

[86] Hayden referenced another proclamation in which he claimed that Waddell also issued this declaration – " Self-Appointed vigilantes are responsible for much of this misery because of the indiscriminate way they have gone about banishing objectionable persons; an in some instances unscrupulous whites have gratified their personal spite in dealing with the negroes." Hayden, *WLI*, 107; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 12, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898.

[87] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 15, 1898.

"Officers of Battalion in service during race conflict or revolution at Wilmington, November 10th, 1898." Seated, third from left, George Morton, fourth, Walker Taylor, and fifth, T.C. James. The rest of the men in the photo are officers and staff of the Maxton Guards, the Kinston Naval Reserves, and the Sampson Light Infantry.
Image: Cape Fear Museum

lines.[88] Workers, fearful of leaving their factories, were provided with special police units by Waddell to escort them safely home. Following the lead of prominent Democrats, the papers emphasized that the new "administration will guarantee protection to all—white and black—who are worthy of citizenship."[89] One man, Henry Macon, opted to leave town for a short time and secured a note from leading Democrat William Cumming to ensure his safe passage through the city. Dated the day after the riot, the note explained that Macon was "frightened on account of the recent riot" and that he wished to leave town. Cumming vouched for Macon's character as "peaceably disposed and quiet man, and neither took part in the recent riot nor voted in the last election." He described Macon as a plumber who had done a "good deal of work for me in the last three or four years and I have found his charges reasonable, and

[88] Many of the accounts point out that blacks were routinely searched at every street corner, regardless of age or sex. Some of the searches were done by young men and boys who were considered too young to be carrying guns in the armed guard units. Although these searches were intended to find weapons, only a few small items were found such as knives or brass knuckles. Hayden, *WLI*, 93, 105; "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.

[89] *Wilmington Messenger*, November 14, 1898.

his work good."[90] Conversely, another black employee, known only by his first name of George, worked for James Worth and returned to work by the sixteenth. Worth wrote that George was "back at work again and is happy as can be whistling at his work—I am quite satisfied that he as well as all the best darkies are glad the change has been made."[91]

Democrats celebrate

Letters circulated among prominent Democratic North Carolinians rejoiced in the election victory but some also expressed regret at the violence of November 10.[92] Through it all, the state Democratic Party leaders planned for an immense celebration in Raleigh on November 15. The "jollification" was held at night, with the city illuminated by over 2,000 torches and 500 barrels of tar. Thousands of fireworks were set off along a parade route that wound through downtown. To mark the occasion, the Democratic Party assembled a booklet, *North Carolina's Glorious Victory, 1898*, that provided details of the campaign and biographical sketches of the men who facilitated the victory across the state.[93]

Wilmington whites also began to celebrate both the election victory and the victory over the blacks through violence as soon as the fighting stopped. Recalling Red Shirt parades of the campaign, the military held a parade of five companies of troops on the eleventh in which the men marched throughout the city along with two Colt rapid fire guns and the Hotchkiss gun of the Naval Reserves. White Wilmingtonians cheered the march and the parade, which a newspaper described as a "formidable

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[90] According to the city directories, Macon was a plumber and lived at 508 S. Sixth Street in both 1897 and 1900. By 1903, his occupation listed as laborer. A review of the census indicates that Macon was born around 1870 and was married in 1890. He had three sons and one daughter. He rented his home on Sixth Street, and by 1910 he is not in the county. By that year, all three of his sons had moved to Rocky Mount and were living with their aunt and uncle, Ruffin and Anna Harris, and attending school. *Wilmington Messenger*, 11-11-1898; William Cumming, Pass for Henry Macon, November 11, 1898, Cape Fear Museum.

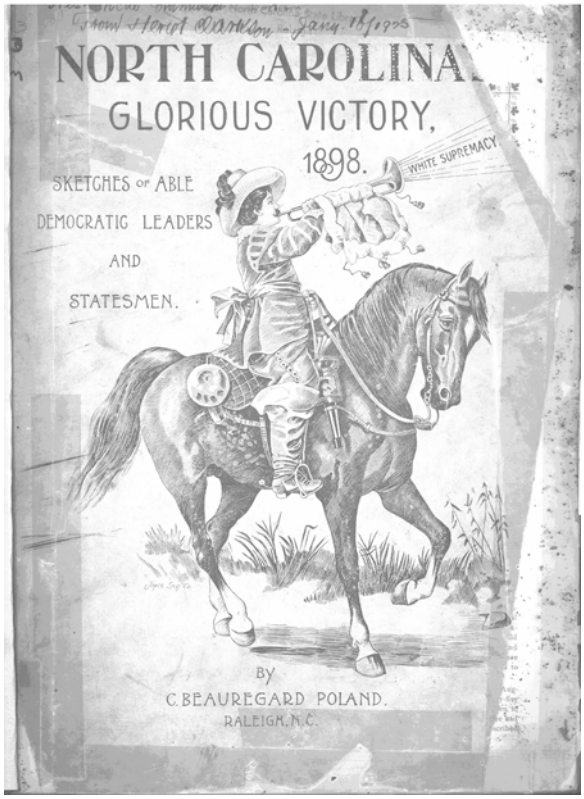
[91] Worth continued that he thought the rest of the "best darkies" were "glad that 'dark town' has been taught a lesson, as one bad nigger will harm the rest." James S. Worth to Josephine, November 16, 1898, James Spencer Worth Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[92] Peter Mallett, a Fayetteville merchant with ties to Wilmington, recorded on the eleventh that he received a telegram from James Sprunt that indicated Wilmington was quiet but excited and that there was "great rejoicing over Democratic victory in N. C." Charles B. Aycock wrote Henry G. Connor on the 11th that he was happy about the election victory – "it is a glorious victory that we have won and the very extent of it frightened me. We shall need wisdom to prove ourselves worthy of it." He then said that he regretted "the Wilmington affair of yesterday greatly." Benehan Cameron of Durham received a note from a creditor in Virginia – "Now that we have white supremacy in North Carolina I hope you will sell your crops and send me a check." Cameron also received correspondence from Thomas W. Strange of Wilmington on the sixteenth which thanked Cameron for his offers of assistance during the riot. However, Strange expected Cameron to pay for the telegram because he was saving every cent and hoped that Cameron would understand his financial "plight." Another letter to Cameron arrived in late December from Julian Carr, Chairman of Durham's Democratic Party. In the letter Carr spoke of the election victory, hoping that "the results of our November victory long abide with us and our children," and provided Cameron with a "souvenir badge of that grand and glorious event." Peter Mallett Papers, Benehan Cameron Papers, and Henry G. Connor Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[93] Part of the city's decorations were a series of "transparencies" that reflected as headlines the sentiments of many Democrats: "It is a hard pill, Governor, but shut your eyes and swallow it," "There is retribution in politics," "Hurrah for Wilmington," "White Supremacy means work for all," and "There's a hot time coming, Mr. Russell." *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 1898; C. Poland, *Glorious Victory, 1898*.

demonstration of the resources for the maintenance of order now at hand." [94]

In their sermons of Sunday, November 13, 1898 Wilmington's white clergy, who had held sway over their congregations during the campaign, justified the campaign and violence. Prior to the riot, ministers had used their influence to achieve the leaders' goals amongst their flocks. For example, Mike Dowling was calmed by his minister, Rev. Christopher Dennen of St. Thomas Catholic Church, who urged Dowling not to upset the schemes of leaders before the riot. T. C. James, leader in the Wilmington Light Infantry claimed that ministers of every denomination supported the efforts of men to secure the coup.[95]



North Carolina's Glorious Victory, 1898

[94] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898.
[95] Hayden, *WLI*, 75.

Excerpts of sermons by prominent ministers were printed in the papers the following week. The main themes were the redemption of the city, victory and duty. Greatest attention was paid to Rev. Peyton H. Hoge of the First Presbyterian Church who offered Biblical justification for the coup in a passage from Proverbs: "He that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city." Hoge explained that "since we last met in these walls we have taken a city." The whites, he said, now had a responsibility to rule with deliberate, cool-headed, self control buttressed by legislation to limit black suffrage, and to do their duty to the black race through educational and spiritual uplift. Rev. A. D. McClure told his congregation that they "must now join heart and hand to secure by lawful means order out of confusion." Rev. J. W. Kramer of the Brooklyn Baptist Church claimed that "whites were doing God's service" and Rev. Blackwell of the First Baptist Church drew comparisons between the victory of whites over blacks in battle to the victories of angels over the devil and his "black robed angels." Additional special services for the soldiers were held on Sunday afternoon at the armory. [96]

[96] Hoge was quoted as saying the "process" of the preceding week was an "act of stern necessity." The prominence given to Hoge's sermon in the newspapers prompted historian Leon Prather to use Hoge's Biblical quote—"we have taken a city"—for his in-depth book on the coup and violence. Black ministers and lay people "consulted" with white authorities to ensure that their services wouldn't be interrupted, and they were encouraged to counsel moderation to their congregations. It is unclear if the sermons given in the black churches were monitored or scripted by whites but all contain similar strains of language, mainly that of accommodation and submission to white domination. *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 15, 1898; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 15, 1898.

Also assisting in the post riot jubilation were Wilmington's white women, who had been supporting their husbands as they marched on nightly patrols and attended white supremacy meetings. The women, dressed in white gowns, had participated in the pre-election parades, prepared coffee for their block guards while on patrol, and maintained their support for their husbands in trying times. After troops began to arrive in the city, Wilmington's women became hostesses to out-of-town guard units and reporters. The most visible support by the white women of the city was the effort to feed the soldiers in town for the riot. Mrs. Thomas C. James, wife of the WLI's captain, oversaw the accommodations and provisions for the visiting military companies. Mrs. Edward Wootten wrote her son that she had been at the armory washing dishes while the military was in town and that the men ate in the armory yard at long tables as the ladies waited on them. She served food for three days, declaring "you never saw so many dishes to be washed and then they were needed for more men before we could get them washed." [97] Harry Hayden, writing decades later, praised the women who had remained at home without protection while their men were out in the fray and then stepped into action to feed the men: "[C]offee was prepared in 50-pound lard cans, buckwheat cakes with plenty of butter and stacked high on large platters, and fried ham and eggs and bacon and sausage were served the guardsmen in bountiful supply by the housewives." [98] On the day of the riot, the WLI was marched on patrols around town. J. D. Nutt's unit was taken by wagon to Frank Maunder's home at 624 North Fourth Street, where Mrs. Nutt "gave us something good to eat." [99] In response to the activities of the city's women to feed the troops, the Maxton Guards posted a letter in the newspaper thanking the ladies for their "kind and considerate attention" to the needs of the men while in the city.[100] Afterward, one woman wrote to the *Star* to ask the paper to print the names of the men who "volunteered to preserve the peace on Thursday night." The paper responded that the compilation of such a list would be the equivalent of the white city directory.[101]

Repayment for Services Rendered

Waddell and the city's leaders were overwhelmed by men within the city requesting appointment to the police force, firefighting units, or other positions in return for their support of the campaign.[102] Attempts were made to make good on the promises of hiring white laborers instead of blacks. There were, however, problems related to the exclusion of highly qualified African Americans in favor of lesser experienced whites who whites did not have the educational background or experience necessary to fill clerical public positions.[103] The *Wilmington Messenger* reminded city leaders of their promises to followers two days after the fighting ended when a writer observed in its pages that the "white laboring men in this city have not been treated fairly in the past." The article objected to hiring black laborers when

[97] Mrs. Wootten to Edward, November 21, 1898, Wootten Papers, University of North Carolina at Wilmington Library.
[98] Hayden, *WLI*, 105.

[99] "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.
[100] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 16, 1898.
[101] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 15, 1898.
[102] "Quite a number of applications for various city offices were handed in to the Board but action was deferred." It was a pact between the leaders and the followers that after the election and coup, those who were most loyal and of greatest service to the Democratic cause would be repaid. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 15, 1898.
[103] Prather, *We Have Taken a City*, 144.

whites were unemployed and it "hoped . . . that it will not end in empty declarations but in deeds."[104] Leaders gave prompt attention to the police and fire departments. The rewarded white men who had been instrumental in assuring an election victory and the violence of November 10 with paid positions on these forces. Red Shirt leader Mike Dowling was a newly appointed firefighter but he was discharged for drunkenness shortly after hire in March 1899.[105] Other personnel issues also appeared when two policemen were suspended for intoxication while on duty in February 1899.[106]

Previously an all-volunteer operation with both white and black firehouses, the fire department had been reorganized in November 1897 and made an official, paid department of the city. As part of this changeover, the fire equipment and tools proudly acquired by donation and hard work were given to the city for the use of the fire departments.[107] The all-black Cape Fear Company under Valentine Howe, which boasted some of the best equipment in the state, was one of the first stations to see a complete change after Waddell and his board came into power. On November 15, 1898, all black firefighters were fired, and white men were hired in their place. This takeover of a source of pride within the black community proved as galling as other aspects of the coup since the men lost not only their valuable equipment, results of their labors on behalf of the greater community, but their income as paid firefighters, and a camaraderie that developed among the firefighters and the neighborhoods they served. At least one new firehouse, the Phoenix, was closed and not reopened after the coup. The end result was that firefighting capabilities in the black

[104] *Wilmington Messenger*, November 12, 1898.

[105] Dowling was also made president of the newly formed White Laborer's Union when they met on November 24 with over 100 members in attendance. At the meeting, the Union adopted a constitution and by-laws and passed a resolution to counter attempts by Waddell's administration to curb spending. The resolution took issue with the attempt to lower salaries for some city employees: "We . . . uncompromising laboring men, who worked and voted to place the Democrats in power . . . have been shocked and surprised" by the pay cuts. They further challenged the city leaders to maintain the wages paid by the previous Fusion administration. Following on the heels of this declaration, Waddell's administration stopped attempts to lower municipal worker wages. This debate reached Raleigh, and later in November, a Raleigh paper observed that the city should keep its course in adhering to all of the pledges of the White Declaration of Independence: "[I]t remains to be seen whether the community will stand on the declarations it has made" regarding white workers. The paper concluded that, if the city wanted to be "progressive," it should hire only whites since it considered black labor stagnant and without merit. On March 6, 1899, Dowling was suspended until the Mayor's office could hold a formal inquiry in which Dowling could attend a meeting with the Board of Aldermen and plead his case. In response, Dowling sent a reply to the Board informing them that they could "go to Hell." The Board of Aldermen then dismissed Dowling for "incompetency, drunkenness, and insubordination." *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 24, 1898; Raleigh *Morning Post*, November 31, 1898; Minutes of the Board of Aldermen, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh .

[106] Another Red Shirt leader, Theodore Swann, was rewarded with a job in the Waddell administration. On February 6, 1899, C. L. Frost and J. D. Hargrave were discharged for being drunk while on police duty. Minutes of the Board of Aldermen, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; *Contested Election Case*, 383.

[107] The Cape Fear Steam Fire Engine Company No. 3, the best-equipped crew in the city, met before the changeover to a paid department, and decided to give their engine, horses and other equipment to the city. The Phoenix Hose Reel Company in Brooklyn had just moved into a new fire house in 1894 and had purchased a new hose wagon in February 1898. After the riot, the Phoenix company was disbanded and the firehouse was torn down in 1900. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*, 191 - 198.

sections of town were severely diminished. [108]

Besides municipal and county patronage positions, some repayment of political debts was done in social circles. For example, Congressman John Bellamy "entertained" with a meal and fellowship the men of the Second Regimental Band as thanks for their support of his "cause" in the election. For many of the men, the evening with Bellamy would be the first time they entered, on almost equal footing, the social world of Wilmington's elite as they were entertained in Bellamy's dining room and parlors. Such social elevation could thrust men from anonymity into the limelight and translate into financial boons.[109]

Problems soon cropped up among the city's newly hired white workforce, particularly in the lumber mills, factories, and other jobs traditionally held by black laborers. Employers found a poor work ethic among white employees, particularly those in the mills, and others who observed that black workers were the "least troublesome labor" were proven correct.[110] White workers also expected higher pay. Even before the election, the papers speculated that white workers taking over traditionally black jobs would be hired at the same pay scale as their predecessors—wages that many would feel were less than adequate. After the "boycott" of black labor began, Waddell remarked to a northern reporter that he thought it would be better if black workers left the South for northern employment, but acknowledged that there was "a certain class of black labor that we could not well get along without." Those invaluable workers, in Waddell's opinion, were cooks, laundresses and stablemen: "I expect the whole south would have dyspepsia in a week if we had to live on northern cooking, we are so used to the southern way of preparing dishes." Waddell concluded that "wages are very low in the south and I doubt if we could get white men to come down here and work for anything like the negroes receive." [111]

African American life in Wilmington was changed irrevocably with the loss of a political voice in city government and a concerted effort to downgrade black employment prospects. Municipal jobs were patronage positions, given to political supporters after a victory by the mayor and aldermen. Because most municipal positions—certainly the most lucrative and best—were restricted to white workers after the coup, many blacks who had traditionally relied upon the city for income were now unemployed. For example, in 1897, the city's fire department hired sixteen African American firemen to staff the two all-black fire stations. In 1898, those positions were converted into white jobs, and one of the fire stations was closed. Further, at least twelve of the city's regular police officers were African American, and, following the coup, those men were also out of a job. For these two high-profile municipal job categories, workers lost a source of moderate income with no hope of finding an equivalent position. The change in city employment from a mixed-race staff to an all-white one gradually trickled down to clerks and janitorial workers. [112]

Further changes were on the horizon for the city as trends developed that favored

[108] Melton testimony, *Contested Election Case*, 370*; Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 191-198.
[109] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 16, 1898.
[110] Prather, *We Have Taken a City*, 146; R. Beverly Mason to Bess, November 8, 1898, John Steele Henderson Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.
[111] *Asbury Park Evening News*, November 21, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), October 28, November 2, 4, 1898.
[112] "Minutes of the Wilmington Board of Aldermen" State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

whites over blacks at every turn. The main tenets of Jim Crow legislation were already in effect in other regions of the South.[113] The aftermath of the riot and coup constituted resounding change. As the climate of the city was altered, blacks were removed from visible participation in city operations, and many sought work elsewhere, leaving the victors in control for generations to come.

[113] Louisiana and other southern states already had legalized segregation and voting restrictions in place for African Americans.